



How the Surge  
Worked—What  
Happens Now

Joe Klein: Why  
Bill Won't Get  
Out of the Way



Did You Hear the One  
About Jay and Dave and  
The 1979 Comedy Strike?

# TIME



## Why Young Voters Care Again

And why their vote matters

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

If you saw the size of my grandson, you'd be impressed.





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day I'm taking my grandson Brian fishing." So I fished

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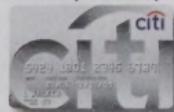
that lake.  And while we weren't able to

reel in the Big One, it didn't matter. Because wouldn't

you know it, I ended up getting hooked on an 8-year-old kid.

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Everything in the new Accord is guided by human consideration, carefully arranged for the kind of access that feels instinctive. The available navigation screen is tucked back within the center console, out of the sun's glare, making it easier on the eyes. Its primary controls have been consolidated into a single, user-friendly dial. Even the unique design of the engine reflects the utmost dedication to the driver. With an available 268 hp, complete with a conscientious ultra-low emission rating, the engine sits on specially designed bushings, so that it turns when you turn. Unifying the road, the driver and the car, as one.



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**THE ALL-NEW ACCORD FROM HONDA | BEYOND THE ROAD**



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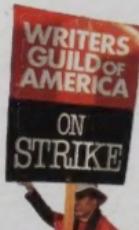
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To Our Readers

## Democracy Reborn.

The 2008 campaign has boosted civic participation among young Americans. Here's what we're doing to help that cause

**POLITICIANS ALWAYS TALK ABOUT HOW** young people will inherit the future. And, of course, that is literally true. But I've always suspected that politicians talk about young people not because they are trying to reach young voters but because that's what older voters like to hear. Traditionally, the older you are, the more likely you are to vote; the younger you are, the less likely. For generations, older voters have been making decisions for young people, who stayed away from the ballot box.

The great educator John Dewey once wrote that "democracy needs to be reborn in every generation." The problem was that between 1972, when 18-year-olds first got the right to vote, and 2000, youth voting decreased in each election cycle. But there are signs that that dispiriting trend is shifting. Youth participation increased in 2004, and this year there seems to be a youthquake. Young people sense that they are coming of age at a time when leadership—and their role in choosing it—really matters.

As David Von Drehle's illuminating cover story makes clear, Barack Obama has been the principal catalyst and beneficiary of greater youth involvement. But

youth engagement is not limited to Senator Obama. Senator Clinton has her fair share, and the candidate with the most zealous young supporters is probably Ron Paul. Von Drehle reports that young people are on the front lines of democracy, reinventing political participation through both new technology and old-fashioned canvassing.

TIME has been taking the lead in seeking to revive civic engagement among young people. Our Sept. 10, 2007, cover story, "The Case for National Service," argued that public service should become a universal rite of passage for young Americans. Since then, Senator Obama has made national service part of his platform, while Senator Clinton has pledged to double the educational stipends for



**On the trail** Von Drehle tracked the youth surge



**Campus politics** Students at the University of California, Berkeley, many of whom are featured in our cover package, embody the civic re-engagement of young people

AmeriCorps volunteers. As a direct result of the interest in that cover story, we are planning to sponsor a summit meeting on national service in the fall.

Our April 17, 2006, cover story, "Drop-out Nation," helped spark a national discussion of one of America's most pressing educational problems: the more than 1 million students who give up on high school each year. As a result of that story, we became part of the anti-dropout coalition led by Colin Powell's nonprofit, America's Promise Alliance, which is launching 100 summits in 50 states to tackle this problem.

One of our responsibilities is to help make sure that democracy is reborn in every generation. TIME is the fourth most

read consumer magazine among college students (behind *Cosmopolitan*, *PEOPLE* and *SPORTS ILLUSTRATED*), according to the Student Monitor, and TIME.com has a greater proportion of 18-to-34-year-olds in its audience than any of its major news competitors except Yahoo! News and Google News. And don't forget the nearly 4 million children, from kindergarten through seventh grade, who read **TIME FOR KIDS**. May they all become informed, engaged citizens!

**Richard Stengel**, MANAGING EDITOR



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# 10 Questions.

Famous for both her acting and her political activism, this Oscar winner's latest drama, *Bernard and Doris*, airs Feb. 9 on HBO. **Susan Sarandon will now take your questions**

## Do you enjoy your recent roles as much as your older ones?

*Pierre-Henri Gayte*, BUC, FRANCE  
I'm kind of turning into Gene Hackman, doing a lot of these juicy, supporting parts. But I don't mind. My ego isn't bruised by not playing the lead. It's nice not to carry an entire film. I'm a little bit lazy—I suffer from inertia.

## I was deeply moved by your performance in *Dead Man Walking*. How do you feel about the use of capital punishment?

*Yao Fei*, NANJING, CHINA  
I am viscerally against it. I think it is done capriciously and arbitrarily, depending on color and income. I don't believe it is the government's place to kill citizens under any circumstance—especially when it is done badly.

## How do you feel about President Bush throwing his weight around in the Middle East?

*Roham Rashtchy*

WEST PALM BEACH, FLA.  
It has been a disaster. There is a huge disconnect between the real war and the politicized war. I wish that our representatives had more experience with the real war. If any of the men who were eager to get into this war had actually been in one, they would have found a way out.

## How would you feel if a woman became President?

*Melvin Haas*

WALLA WALLA, WASH.  
There's absolutely no reason why a woman shouldn't be in that office, but I am not sure about this woman. It's



insulting to assume that because you're a woman or a person of color, you would automatically back any woman or person of color. It's a little more complicated.

## Have your political views ever prevented you from landing a role you really wanted?

*Robert Coupee*, POOLE, ENGLAND  
I don't know how you would know. People probably think of me as Debbie Downer—I have become kind of a joke

in terms of activism for some people. But it is like worrying if your slip is showing when you're fleeing a burning building. You have to prioritize.

## You are seen as somewhat controversial. What's the balance between being confidently assertive and overly aggressive?

*L.J. Evermann*, LINCOLN, NEB.  
It's not part of my conditioning as a woman and as a Catholic-school girl to ever be disruptive. The only thing that gives

me the courage to do things—because I'm a shy person—is the idea of living with myself afterward. At the 1993 Academy Awards, when we talked about the Haitian refugees being held in Guantánamo, I could barely breathe.

## Is the writers' strike affecting you? Do you think talk-show hosts should go back to work?

*Bob Marcus*, RUSKIN, FLA.  
It's affecting everybody, but it is important that the actors support the writers. You can't take away residuals. I'm not happy about the [talk-show hosts] going back when they haven't made a deal, but it is complicated; you don't want to put everybody out of work.

## Did you ever imagine that *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* would become a phenomenon?

*Pete Lund*, MINNEAPOLIS  
Nobody thought that. I did it just to have fun, which is why I do most things I do. I was terrified to sing, and I thought it would help me get over that.

## You recently played the wicked queen in *Enchanted*. What's more fun: playing a good guy or a bad guy?

*Jim O'Kane*, BLACKSTONE, MASS.  
It is always more fun to be bad. All the mean things that you would love to say, you suddenly have license to do. Hook is much more interesting than Peter Pan.

## You're married to actor Tim Robbins. What is a typical dinner conversation like?

*Ana Aponte*, SAN JUAN, P.R.  
It's mostly catching up with the kids. When we have friends over, the kids always bet on how long it will take before we turn to politics. We always forget, and then they say, "That was fast—only one minute and two seconds." ■



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

To watch a video interview with Sarandon and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to [time.com/10questions](http://time.com/10questions)

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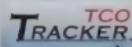
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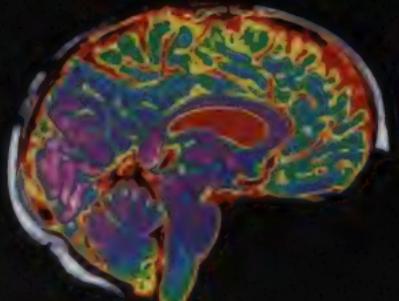
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# Inbox



## Love Under a Microscope

IT HAS BEEN MY IMPRESSION FOR MANY years that we are creatures of evolution: as far as Mother Nature is concerned, whatever works wins [Jan. 28]. Obviously, heterosexuality has won out. The sexual attractiveness of women to men and vice versa is genetic, as modified by the environment. Although many marriages are initially based on sex, the success of a good marriage relies on the ability of two people to get along. That demands a democracy in which each accepts the other as an equal and helps the other in a loving, kind way. They do not take advantage of their mate's psychological weaknesses.

David Hertz, M.D.  
TARZANA, CALIF.

LOVE AND ROMANCE HAVE TO do with matters of the spirit, not science. The obsession with measuring things that are immeasurable is science's Achilles' heel. Leave the mystery of love to those who know something about it: artists.

Peter J. Vogel, COLUMBUS, OHIO

ALL BUT ONE OF THE ARTICLES TREATED humans as no more than breeding animals. Humans differ from the other ani-

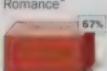
mals because we have been given the gifts of reason and free will. In your attempts to bring your readers knowledge of the human condition, you labored under a curse. As William Faulkner might have put it, you wrote not of the heart but of the glands.

Roger Bonilla

SUNNYVALE, CALIF.

### MAILBAG

**Biggest mail getter:** "The Science of Romance"



Scientists might identify what sparks love, but we can't tell us what keeps it burning



You can't compare gay and straight love—the biology is different, as is society's acceptance of it

RE JOHN CLOUD'S "ARE GAY RELATIONSHIPS DIFFERENT?" [Jan. 28]: Same-sex relationships—both gay and lesbian—are different, since they are hatched in a world rife with homophobic messages that almost ensure their failure. Yet gay men face two specific challenges: homophobia, both internal and external, and the simple fact that two men are romantically involved. Young males are shaped by biology and culture to be strong, decisive and uncompromising—leaders, not followers. Homophobia is an enormous obstacle, but it is the alpha-male factor that ultimately dooms all but the heartiest gay unions.

David Ezell, NEW YORK CITY

MY WIFE OF FIVE YEARS AND I LIVED TOGETHER for a decade before we decided to get married. We assumed that our relationship was well established and that marriage

**'While the Britney Spears and Lindsay Lohans of the world continue to take steps backward, Madeleine Albright and others like her make progress for women in giant strides.'**

Ann Lindsay, CHICAGO

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## TURNING TO AN OLD MEDIUM

IT WAS WITH GREAT DELIGHT THAT I READ "Vinyl Gets Its Groove Back" [Jan. 21]. As a Generation Xer, I grew up

**LETTER FROM AN AUDIOPHILE** listening to records and have never stopped. The great majority of audiophiles consider vinyl the superior medium, vastly surpassing the sound of even the highest-resolution digital playback. Sadly, the new generation of young folks is exposed to technical gadgetry that has pushed high-quality music reproduction to the back of the proverbial line. Just wanted to thank you for your great article. Should you wish to follow up with some fantastic-looking turntables ranging in price from a couple hundred bucks all the way to a quarter-million dollars, please don't hesitate to contact me. I'd be thrilled to keep this story spinning!

Wes Bender, NEW YORK CITY

wouldn't make much of a difference in the life together that we'd come to know. How wrong we were! Marriage made our relationship grow in ways we hadn't envisioned, and it brought fulfillment and security I didn't know had been missing. For us, there was a profound difference between living together as partners with an uncertain future and being husband and wife. I wonder if Cloud and his partner might still be together, as happy as my wife and I are, if they had been allowed the same freedom to marry.

John Martin, SAN DIEGO



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I APPRECIATED THE SCOPE OF YOUR REPORTING. But as a geriatric-care manager, I couldn't help noticing the lack of information about the elderly. I have witnessed wildly happy romances between men and women in their 80s and 90s, even those with physical difficulties or dementia. My hope is that we can drop any archaic stigmas about this phase of life and realize that it is never too late for love and companionship.

Ellen D. Waldman, ASHLAND, ORE.



## Inbox

### Caught Between Color Lines

I ENJOYED JOHN CLOUD'S "BREAKING DOWN the Black Vote" [Jan. 28]. I am from Tanzania, and like many foreigners who come to the U.S., I found—to my surprise—that I belong to a pool of supposedly disadvantaged minorities. I struggle with the skewed concept of race in America. For some reason, having black blood is almost seen as some kind of contamination. How would this racial-political dialogue play out if, say, Barack Obama were one-fourth or one-eighth black? I am reminded of the Christian teachings on original sin. However good, intelligent or capable a person you might be, there is something that still taints your righteousness. Whether we like it or not, Obama's black half will ultimately lead to the demise of his presidential aspirations.

Yohanne Kidolezi, BOSTON

### The Dance with Iran

IN "RETHINKING IRAN," SAMANTHA POWER asserted that Washington "supported" Osama bin Laden during the 1980s [Jan. 28]. Power repeated a canard that has been pushed by numerous conspiracy theorists. As terrorism expert Peter Bergen has stated, this is a "folk myth" without a shred of evidence to support it. The 9/11 commission came to similar conclusions and noted that the CIA viewed bin Laden and his so-called Arab Afghans as "militarily insignificant" to the war against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. It is unfortunate that a distinguished scholar like Power decided to repeat this legend.

James McKay, ALEXANDRIA, VA.

THIS ARTICLE FOCUSED ON THE HISTORY of the Bush Administration but ignored the history of Iran's mullahs. Iran's intentions have been plain and clear for decades: subvert and destroy. Why put our future in their hands? Every ounce of uranium they enrich brings them closer to having the Bomb. We must stop them. Peaceful coexistence with a Bomb-equipped Iran is a fool's dream with deadly consequences.

Jerome Ellard, BIG SANDY, TEXAS

### Greasy Imperialism

AS A DIABETES NURSE-EDUCATOR, I AM gravely concerned about Yum Brands' impact on global health [Jan. 28]. On a recent

tour of hospitals in China with a delegation from the American Association of Diabetes Educators, I saw the detrimental results of fast food's rise in overseas markets. As the industry pushes its high-fat, high-cholesterol, meat-based foods, rates of diabetes, heart disease and stroke are skyrocketing. Obesity rates have tripled over the past 20 years in countries that have adopted the American diet, according to a paper in the *New England Journal of Medicine* in January 2007. Rates of diabetes are expected to reach pandemic levels by 2030. Given all that Americans have learned about how diet affects health, shouldn't we export that knowledge rather than buckets of fried chicken? I'd love to see creative marketing minds work on exporting meals that we can be proud of.

Caroline Trapp, M.S.N., Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine  
WASHINGTON

OTHER THAN THE GROWING PROFIT MARGINS for the food industry, the only good thing about fast-food companies' pushing meat, fat and sugar on the developing world is the financial boon it will create for another ethically challenged U.S. industry. As those chicken nuggets start clogging arteries and aiding the global obesity

epidemic, millions of people will develop diabetes, high blood pressure and heart disease. What an untapped market for the pharmaceutical sector!

Simon Chaitowitz, WASHINGTON

### The Albright Effect

THANK YOU FOR PUBLISHING MADELINE Albright's brilliant insights [Jan. 21]. I've been a lawyer in private practice for 25 years. Never before have I heard it plainly said that women who want respect from male colleagues should interrupt them. The next time I interrupt a pontificating male opponent, I will not feel so guilty. Albright is a genius, and TIME deserves credit for giving her the opportunity to share what she knows.

Judith Neustadter Naone, MAUI, HAWAII

ALBRIGHT HAD IT WRONG IN EXPLAINING how President George W. Bush will be judged. She incorrectly said "this presidency has done a great deal of damage" to the U.S.'s international reputation. She must be confusing this presidency with the media, which continually bash the very country that gives them the freedom to do so. Shame on Albright for blaming the media's mistakes on Bush.

Jennifer Crake, KNOXVILLE, TENN.

**'Given all that Americans have learned about how diet affects health, shouldn't we export that knowledge rather than buckets of fried chicken?'**

Caroline Trapp, M.S.N.,  
Physicians Committee for  
Responsible Medicine  
WASHINGTON

Why did the chicken cross the pond?  
To make fat profits on the other side



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# Postcard: Gaza. A border wall with Egypt is breached, giving many Palestinians a brief taste of life without the Israeli blockade. **Cruising for camels, candy and health care in Sinai**

BY TIM MCGIRK

**A**MRAN LUBBAD LAY SLEEPLESS IN Gaza early in the morning of Jan. 23. Lubbad, a darkly handsome Palestinian, was going to be united with Hiba, his fiancé in Egypt. He had treated himself to a sharp new haircut. The pair have been engaged for two years, but Israel and Egypt sealed off the border with Gaza in early 2006, and Hiba was trapped on the other side. At last, Lubbad had scraped together \$1,500 to smuggle her through a sandy tunnel under the border fence.

It was a huge risk: tunnels at the Rafah crossing often cave in. At other times, Israel bombs the tunnels, which Hamas militants use for smuggling weapons into Gaza. So when Lubbad's cell phone rang at 5 a.m., he feared the worst. But the news couldn't have been better. "No need for the tunnel or your money," a friend

told him. "The wall is down. Exploded. Now your fiancé can walk across. Gaza is free."

Free for now, that is. Gaza militants did breach the wall—and Lubbad met up with his fiancé, who returned with him to Gaza. But Egypt has begun repairing the holes in the wall, and the wild exodus from Gaza, which included more than one-fifth of the territory's 1.5 million people, was just a brief respite from the reality of life under Israel's blockade, which had been tightened on Jan. 17 in response to rocket attacks from Gaza soil.

Still, the breach was a chance to complete all manner of desperate errands. A Gaza waiter named Maher Sheikha carried his 12-year-old son Femeöh through the mob, balanced across the destroyed metal fence and then climbed through barbed-wire tangles. Femeöh was dying of a blood disease, and the only chance of recovery was rushing him to a Cairo hospital.

The boy made it to Cairo; the family

**GLOBAL DISPATCH**  
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*Joyride A Gazan returns from a trip into Egypt after the border wall was breached*

had friends who led them along Bedouin trails across the Sinai desert, past the roadblocks of Egyptian police, whose orders were to turn back any Palestinians fleeing Gaza. Others weren't so lucky. Egyptian authorities stopped dozens of ailing Palestinians at the town of el Arish because they lacked the proper visas. The patients remain there, camped in mosques and in the doorways of el Arish, tended by relatives who are pleading with Egyptian riot police to let them pass.

For most Gazans, though, shopping was the key. I saw a poor woman haggle over a single bulb of garlic as though it were a Manhattan town house. Goats and camels, prized for their meat, were on many shopping lists. So were commercial goods. On the Gaza side, an unemployed mason with nine kids was hoisting bags of cement off an Egyptian flatbed truck. The Israelis had banned the import of cement, so all construction had stopped. But with the opening, the price of a sack of cement fell from \$60 to \$12, he told me, so he was happily back at work.

A shopping spree may have lessened

Gaza's crisis, but many say the long-term solution rests with Israel. Chris Guinness, a spokesman for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, which feeds as many as 850,000 impoverished Gazans, says, "A few holes in the wall don't relieve Israel of its obligations. We can't have a situation where Gaza continues to hover on the brink of catastrophe." Israel, for its part, continues to blame Hamas—and the constant threat of rocket attacks against Israeli civilians—for the blockade.

For my Gaza friend Azmi Keshawi, though, the brief liberty meant two things: Cairo and chocolate. "I'm taking my wife and kids in the Jeep," he told me when the wall was breached, "and we're driving all the way to Cairo, maybe farther, just because we can." Actually, Azmi was gone only overnight. He couldn't find any gas in el Arish, so he turned back. El Arish's shops had also been picked clean by Gaza's hordes, so Azmi could find no chocolate either, just four big bags of potato chips and a couple of Cokes. No regrets, says Azmi. "Driving back, eating snacks, with the car window down and the desert breeze of Sinai on my face—what can I say? We were happy. This was freedom, man." ■



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moving forward



# Briefing

THE MOMENT



## Mr. Sunshine. Rudy Giuliani's campaign positively implodes in the Florida primary

THE NIGHT BEFORE THE FLORIDA primary, Rudy Giuliani was still vowing to shock pollsters: "I've been doing the impossible all my life!" He certainly did the impossible, plummeting from front runner to also-ran in a few weeks, finishing a distant third behind Mitt Romney and John McCain. And just as John Edwards, a sunny personality who ran as an angry rabble-rouser, was departing the Democratic field, America's mayor, an angry man who ran as Mr. Sunshine, was endorsing McCain.

If the Giuliani collapse wasn't totally unexpected—a twice-divorced, pro-choice, anti-gun New Yorker was a tough sell in a Republican primary—the cause certainly was. Who would have expected the mayor who declared war on criminals, squeegee men, graffiti artists, jaywalkers and even purveyors of "incivility"—in other words, New Yorkers—to shy away from a fight?

Giuliani held back in five early states before making his stand among Florida's transplanted New Yorkers. What

made him think he could choose his battlefield? As one aide mused, "They'll be asking that question in political science classes for years."

But the real mystery was the candidate himself. Giuliani was always portrayed as a successful mayor despite his nasty streak; in

**Prazac Rudy never acted as if his heart were in the race. He just kept smiling**

fact, his nastiness helped make him a successful mayor. He didn't need to be loved. He wanted a city that worked, and he pursued that goal with a vindictiveness that sometimes bordered on mania.

But on the trail in Florida, he seemed so serene, so resigned, so Zen. He never appeared desperate for victory or eager to throttle someone. He stayed positive, declaring himself "sick and tired of all this name-calling." Prazac Rudy never acted as if his heart were in the race. Even as he floundered, he kept smiling. "We've been campaigning in Florida so long, I really feel like I'm one of you," he said.

Maybe that's why Giuliani made his stand in the Sunshine State: like so many other New Yorkers, he likes it there. When political-science classes study his campaign, they just might see it as a \$40 million Florida vacation.

— BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD



MELBOURNE

Federer's first Grand Slam semis loss since 2005



JAKARTA

Indonesians mark the death of former President Suharto



VENTURA, CALIF.

Heavy snow and rain p

# Dashboard

## WASHINGTON MEMO

THEY MAY BE dreaming of control over Congress and the White House in 2009, but Democrats on the Hill first have to deal with a recurring nightmare: a seemingly unwinnable political battle pitting civil liberties against national security.

At issue this time is the telecommunications industry. Several leading telecom companies have allegedly participated in President Bush's no-warrant eavesdropping on Americans since 9/11. In late January, the Senate Intelligence and Judiciary chairmen wrestled over whether the firms should get immunity from prosecution for whatever role they played. It's a fight that could get uglier soon if the House and Senate launch backroom negotiations for a final bill before the Presidents' Day recess on Feb. 18 as expected.

The key player will be House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who is against retroactive immunity for the telecoms but is being pressured to cave by moderate Democrats who face tough re-election battles this fall. "She's going to push

very hard to not have immunity," says a top Pelosi aide, but "it just depends how much leverage she has." To outsiders, that sounds like a walk-up to folding, and civil-liberties groups are pressuring Democratic House chairmen to push back. "It's completely in her hands," says Michelle Richardson of the ACLU. "Nothing can force her to have the House vote on complete immunity."

Except political reality. Bush promises to veto any bill that doesn't provide immunity, and Republicans would love to prolong the fight. That leaves Democrats scrambling for a way out. One fix would be to say they changed their minds after seeing secret documents on the eavesdropping program the White House made available to select House members for the first time this week. A more palatable solution emerged midweek: extending last August's stopgap Protect America Act, which would allow them to duck the immunity issue until after the election this fall, when the Dems could have the same painful fight yet again.

—BY MASSIMO CALABRESI ■

## FLASH POINT

### Kenya at War with Itself

It began with a disputed election that sparked ethnic violence. On Jan. 29, the killing of an opposition lawmaker led to still more bloodshed. Kofi Annan can get the two candidates to meet, but who will control their henchmen?

'For every one Kikuyu killed, we shall avenge their killing with three.'

ANTHONY MWANGI, a Kikuyu, one of hundreds of Kenyans armed with machetes, clubs and rocks who are threatening members of rival tribes



## The Lomconomics

### Play by Play



WHO? Jérôme Kerviel, 31, a futures trader from a second-tier business school, had worked at Société Générale since 2000.

WHAT? Société Générale was surprised by a series of "elaborate, fictitious transactions" that Kerviel executed. But skeptics are crying foul play, saying rogue trades that large could not have gone unnoticed for so long.

## FRAUD EXPLAINER

### Trading Trouble

A rogue trader cost one of Europe's largest banks \$7.09 billion—the biggest loss ever from a single trader—but who's really to blame?

Kerviel wanted more action than his low-level position allowed. So he began trading secretly—racking up huge profits at first. He says some bosses knew and made him out to be a criminal only when the trades went bad. So was he solo? "If he was working alone, he would have been caught," says Suresh Sundaresan, a finance professor at New York City's Columbia Business School.



Occupy West Coast

COLUMBIA, S.C.  
Obama wins South Carolina

001	056	12	136	136
005	050	025	08600	000
290	1280	1280	38134	826
230	000	080	36684	131
528	000	2925	28748	110
060	1058	1053	92024	996
1977	1976	1977	26358	1791
1863	1863	1868	120	852
1100	1100	1103	000	851
856	855	856	000	863
896	000	896	000	865
804	000	804	000	1090
794	000	054	000	1090
220	1738	1738	000	884

SHANGHAI  
Chinese stocks plunge after Wall Street's weak performance

## WHO'S WHO

- 1 **MWAI KIBAKI**  
He allegedly rigged the vote, but Kibaki brushes aside any talk of conceding the election.
- 2 **KOFI ANNAN**  
The frustrated former U.N. head has ditched the idea of new elections in favor of mediation.
- 3 **RAILA Odinga**  
The opposition leader may be aggrieved, but his Luo tribe has engaged in wanton retaliation against Kibaki's Kikuyu tribe.
- 4 **WILLIAM RUTO**  
Ruto, part of Odinga's inner circle, and his ilk are key to this crisis. Yes, they attend peace talks, but they're accused of inciting ethnic violence on the side.

## What Now?

**AT STAKE** Now SocGen management is itself under heavy scrutiny. The bank's chief, who called Kerviel a "terrorist," offered his resignation, but the bank's board is backing him for now.

**THE BOTTOM LINE** The bank's biggest risk yet? Hostile takeover bids from foreign rivals. But France's Prime Minister says he will block any attempts.

## TRANSLATION

## State of the Union—Flashback to 2003?

In his final State of the Union address on Jan. 28, President George W. Bush may have been thinking about his future legacy. But the speech felt more like a blast from the past. Not only did it bear a striking thematic resemblance to his 2003 address, but the word tally from each speech is very similar. A side-by-side comparison:

**2008** America (65)  
**2003** America (59)  
people (29)  
people (31)  
terror (23)  
terror[ist] (19)  
security (13)  
security (10)  
government (11)  
government (13)

al-Qaeda (11)  
al-Qaeda (8)  
peace (8)  
peace (9)  
citizen (10)  
citizen (10)  
allies (3)  
allies (3)  
Iraq (39)  
Iraq (21)

Congress (27)  
Congress (10)  
nation (24)  
nation (23)  
economy (9)  
economy (13)  
war (3)  
war (11)  
federal (9)  
federal (5)

## GLOBAL ECONOMY

## Sovereign Wealth Funds

As global markets wobble, foreign-government funds, many of them oil-driven, are now big players. Some key investor countries:



**UAE:** Abu Dhabi Investment Authority

**\$875 billion**

Abu Dhabi is CITIGROUP'S single largest shareholder



**NORWAY:** Government Pension Fund

**\$380 billion**

Among Norway's 3,500 investments is GOOGLE



**SINGAPORE:** Government Investment Corp.

**\$330 billion**

Singapore has a major stake in Swiss bank UBS



**CHINA:** China Investment Corp.

**\$200 billion**

China holds more U.S.

TREASURY SECURITIES than any country except Japan

# The Page

SUPER TUESDAY

## The Delegate Hunt

An unprecedented number of Americans will vote in primaries and caucuses on Feb. 5, a result of states elbowing ahead on the electoral calendar. While both parties have varying rules for allocating delegates, the sheer number of contests forces candidates to target just a handful of key states.

### DEMOCRATS



- Almost 1,700 delegates of the total 2,025 needed to clinch the nomination will be up for grabs in 22 states
- Democratic contests are not winner-take-all. Candidates win delegates in proportion to their percentage of the vote (above a 15% threshold)
- This rule hasn't mattered much in past election cycles, when races wrapped up fairly early. This year, though, the two candidates could split the delegate count, dragging the campaign on past Feb. 5

### REPUBLICANS



- Candidates will compete in 21 states for more than 1,000 delegates; only 1,191 needed to win the nomination
- Eleven of the Republican contests—including delegate-rich New York (103) and New Jersey (52)—are winner-take-all. The victor gets all the delegates
- The Republican primary process has been wired in the past to produce strong front runners early on in the election calendar



**48**  
delegates  
as of Jan. 30

## Hillary Clinton

While she still leads in the polls of many key states, a list of wins won't be enough. High-percentage showings are critical to racking up delegates

### KEEP AN EYE ON

**CALIFORNIA**  
With **441** delegates, it's the big kahuna. She's banking on Hispanic support

**NEW YORK**  
The state's junior Senator, Clinton needs to grab many of its **281** delegates



**63**  
delegates  
as of Jan. 30

## Barack Obama

He must cut into Clinton's lead with wins in delegate-rich states. Hopes to wed his Southern strategy with liberals seduced by Ted Kennedy's endorsement

### KEEP AN EYE ON

**MASSACHUSETTS**  
After Kennedy's nod, Obama has a better chance of scoring a chunk of its **121** delegates

**MISSOURI**  
A key swing state, with **88** delegates, Missouri has an open primary—good for Obama



**96**  
delegates  
as of Jan. 30

## John McCain

Florida win aside, he'll still need an influx of campaign donations to compete with Romney's personal wealth. Will target purple-state independent voters

### KEEP AN EYE ON

**NEW YORK**  
The big prize is the GOP's largest winner-take-all state, with **101** delegates

**ALASKA**  
The Independent vote, which has favored McCain, is strong in this northern outpost



**65**  
delegates  
as of Jan. 30

## Mitt Romney

Though he lags behind McCain, Romney will pitch himself as the "real conservative" in a play for those who consider McCain too much of a maverick

### KEEP AN EYE ON

**CALIFORNIA**  
Northern California Mormons may swing some of the **173** delegates

**CONNECTICUT**  
After losing New Hampshire, he can't assume support from neighbors



voter guide. And that's fine with the Romney camp, a senior adviser tells God-o-Meter. After all, the misinterpretation is less likely to anger those evangelical voters who don't want Mormons calling themselves Christian.



For daily God-o-Meter readings covering all the presidential candidates, visit [beliefnet.com](http://beliefnet.com)



## A Little of That Florida Glow

**THE NEWS** Finally the front runner. John McCain wins Florida and breaks his fund-raising slump with more than \$1 million in online donations the next day.



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**and for my high cholesterol.”**

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\*Caduet can be used alone or with other high blood pressure medicines.

*Please see the accompanying patient information on the following page.*

**IMPORTANT INFORMATION:** Caduet is a prescription drug that combines 2 medicines, Norvasc and Lipitor. Norvasc is used to treat high blood pressure (hypertension), chest pain (angina), or blocked arteries of the heart (coronary artery disease); Lipitor is used along with diet and exercise to lower high cholesterol. It is also used to lower the risk of heart attack and stroke in people with multiple risk factors for heart disease - such as family history, high blood pressure, age, low HDL-C, or smoking.

Caduet is not for everyone. It is not for those with liver problems. And it is not for women who are nursing, are pregnant, or may become pregnant. If you take Caduet, tell your doctor if you feel any new muscle pain or weakness. This could be a sign of rare but serious muscle side effects. Tell your doctor about all of the medicines you take. This may help avoid serious drug interactions. Your doctor should do blood tests to check your liver function before and during treatment and may adjust your dose. If you have any heart problems, be sure to tell your doctor. The most common side effects are edema, headache, and dizziness. They tend to be mild and often go away.

Caduet is one of many options for treating high blood pressure and high cholesterol, in addition to diet and exercise, that you or your doctor can consider.

Uninsured? Need help paying for medicine? Pfizer has programs that can help, no matter your age or income. You may even qualify for free Pfizer medicines. Call 1-866-706-2400. Or visit [www.pfizerhelpfulanswers.com](http://www.pfizerhelpfulanswers.com).

 **helpful**  
**answers**

## PATIENT INFORMATION

### Caduet<sup>®</sup>

amlodipine besylate/atorvastatin calcium  
oral tablets 5 mg/20 mg

(CAD-oo-et)

Read the patient information that comes with CADUET<sup>®</sup> before you start taking it, and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This information does not replace talking with your doctor about your condition or treatment. If you have any questions about CADUET, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

#### What is CADUET<sup>®</sup>?

CADUET<sup>®</sup> is a prescription drug that combines Norvasc<sup>®</sup> (amlodipine besylate) and Lipitor<sup>®</sup> (atorvastatin calcium) in one pill.

#### CADUET<sup>®</sup> is used in adults who need both Norvasc and Lipitor.

Norvasc is used to treat:

- High blood pressure (hypertension) and
- Chest pain (angina) and
- Blocked arteries of the heart (coronary artery disease)

Lipitor is used to lower the levels of "bad" cholesterol and triglycerides in your blood. It can also raise the levels of "good" cholesterol.

Lipitor is also used to lower the risk for heart attack or stroke in patients who have risk factors for heart disease such as:

- age, smoking, high blood pressure, low HDL-C, heart disease in the family, or
- diabetes with risk factor such as eye problems, kidney problems, smoking, or high blood pressure

CADUET<sup>®</sup> has not been studied in children.

#### Who should not use CADUET<sup>®</sup>?

##### Do not use CADUET<sup>®</sup> if you:

- Are pregnant or think you may be pregnant, or are planning to become pregnant. CADUET may harm your unborn baby. If you get pregnant, stop taking CADUET and call your doctor right away.
- Are breastfeeding. CADUET can pass into your breast milk and may harm your baby. Do not breastfeed if you take CADUET.
- Have liver problems.
- Are allergic to anything in CADUET. The active ingredients are atorvastatin calcium and amlodipine besylate. See the end of this leaflet for a complete list of ingredients.

#### What should I tell my doctor before taking CADUET<sup>®</sup>?

#### Tell your doctor about all of your health conditions, including, if you have:

- heart disease
- muscle aches or weakness
- diabetes
- thyroid problems
- kidney problems
- or drink more than 2 glasses of alcohol daily

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. CADUET and some other medicines can interact, causing serious side effects. Especially tell your doctor if you take medicines for:

- your immune system
- infections
- cholesterol
- birth control
- heart failure
- HIV (AIDS)

You can use nitroglycerin and CADUET together. If you take nitroglycerin for chest pain (angina), do not stop taking it while taking CADUET.

Know all the medicines you take. Keep a list of them with you to show your doctor and pharmacist.

#### How should I take CADUET<sup>®</sup>?

- Take CADUET once a day, exactly as your doctor tells you. Do not change your dose or stop CADUET without talking to your doctor.
- Take CADUET each day at any time of day, at about the same time each day. CADUET can be taken with or without food.
- Do not break the tablets before taking them. Talk to your doctor if you have a problem swallowing pills.
- Your doctor should start you on a low-fat diet before giving you CADUET. Stay on this low-fat diet when you take CADUET.
- CADUET comes in many different strengths. Your doctor will test your cholesterol and blood pressure to find the right dose for you.
- If you miss a dose, take it as soon as you remember. Do not take CADUET if it has been more than 12 hours since your missed dose. Just take the next dose at your regular time. Do not take 2 doses of CADUET at the same time.
- If too much CADUET is taken by accident, call your doctor or poison control center, or go to the nearest emergency room.

#### What should I avoid while taking CADUET<sup>®</sup>?

- Avoid getting pregnant. If you get pregnant, stop taking CADUET right away and call your doctor.
- Do not breastfeed. CADUET can pass into your breast milk and may harm your baby.

**What are possible side effects of CADUET<sup>®</sup>?**

**CADUET can cause serious side effects. These side effects happen only to a small number of people. Your doctor can monitor you for them. These side effects usually go away if your dose is lowered or CADUET is stopped. These serious side effects include:**

- **Muscle problems.** CADUET can cause serious muscle problems that can lead to kidney problems, including kidney failure. You have a higher chance for muscle problems if you are taking certain other medicines with CADUET.
- **Liver problems.** CADUET can cause liver problems. Your doctor may do blood tests to check your liver before you start taking CADUET and while you take it.

#### Call your doctor right away if:

- you have muscle problems like weakness, tenderness, or pain that happen without a good reason, especially if you also have a fever or feel more tired than usual
- you have nausea and vomiting, stomach pain
- you are passing brown or dark-colored urine
- you feel more tired than usual
- your skin and white of your eyes get yellow

- **Chest pain that does not go away or gets worse.** Sometimes, when you start CADUET or increase your dose, chest pain can get worse or a heart attack can happen. If this happens, call your doctor or go to the emergency room right away.

Common side effects of CADUET include:

- headache
- dizziness
- tiredness
- extreme sleepiness
- stomach pain
- nausea
- gas
- rash
- constipation
- diarrhea
- swelling of your legs or ankles (edema)
- hot or warm feeling in your face (flushing)
- irregular heartbeat (arrhythmia)
- very fast heartbeat (heart palpitations)
- muscle and joint pain

Talk to your doctor or pharmacist about side effects that bother you or do not go away. There are other side effects of CADUET. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for a complete list.

#### How do I store CADUET<sup>®</sup>?

- Store CADUET at room temperature, 68 to 77°F (20 to 25°C).
- Do not keep medicine that is out-of-date or that you no longer need.
- **Keep CADUET and all medicines out of the reach of children.** Keep medicines in places where children cannot get it.

#### General information about CADUET

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient information leaflets. Do not use CADUET for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give CADUET to other people, even if they have the same problem you have. It may harm them.

This leaflet summarizes the most important information about CADUET. If you want more information, talk with your doctor. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about CADUET written for health professionals. You can also go to the CADUET website at [www.CADUET.com](http://www.CADUET.com), or call 866-514-0900.

#### What is high blood pressure (hypertension)?

You have high blood pressure when the force of blood against the walls of your arteries stays high. This can damage your heart and other parts of your body. Drugs that lower blood pressure lower your risk of having a stroke or heart attack.

#### What is angina (chest pain)?

Angina is a pain that keeps coming back when part of your heart does not get enough blood. It feels like something is pressing or squeezing your chest under the breastbone. Sometimes you can feel it in your shoulders, arms, neck, jaw, or back.

#### What is cholesterol?

Cholesterol is a fat-like substance made in your body. It is also found in foods. You need some cholesterol for good health, but too much is not good for you. Cholesterol can clog your blood vessels.

#### What is a heart attack?

A heart attack occurs when heart muscle does not get enough blood. Symptoms include chest pain, trouble breathing, nausea, and weakness. Heart muscle cells may be damaged or die. The heart cannot pump well or may stop beating.

#### What is a stroke?

A stroke occurs when nerve cells in the brain do not get enough blood. The cells may be damaged or die. The damaged cells may cause weakness or problems speaking or thinking.

#### WHAT ARE THE INGREDIENTS IN CADUET<sup>®</sup>?

**Active ingredients:** amlodipine besylate, atorvastatin calcium

**Inactive ingredients:** calcium carbonate, croscarmellose sodium, microcrystalline cellulose, pregalatinized starch, polysorbate 80, hydroxypropyl cellulose, purified water, colloidal silicon dioxide (anhydrous), magnesium stearate

**Film coating:** Opadry<sup>®</sup> II White 5B28751 (polyvinyl alcohol, titanium dioxide, PEG 3000 and talc) or Opadry<sup>®</sup> II Blue 85F10919 (polyvinyl alcohol, titanium dioxide, PEG 3000, talc, and FD&C blue #2)

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# Verbatim

'Where in the world has one ever seen a nation that erects memorials to immortalize its own shame?'

**AVI PRIMOR**, former Israeli ambassador to Germany, praising Germany for taking responsibility for its history. The country will begin construction of two new memorials: one commemorating murdered Gypsies and a second for gays and lesbians killed in the Holocaust



'If I had the chance, I would have spit in his face.'

**TOMMASO BARBATO**, Italian Senator, about colleague Stefano Cusumano, who supported Prime Minister Romano Prodi in a confidence vote. Prodi lost the vote and resigned, ending Italy's 61st government since World War II

'Too often, where we need water, we find guns instead.'

**BAN KI-MOON**, U.N. Secretary-General, urging world leaders to put the looming water-shortage crisis at the top of this year's global agenda



'I am determined that my children should have no financial security.'

**NIGELLA LAWSON**, celebrity chef, on why she will leave none of her fortune to her children

'That is the most overrated aspect of American politics.'

**JOHN MCCAIN**, on friendship among politicians. Despite recent endorsements from a number of GOP leaders, the presidential hopeful maintained that his victories in New Hampshire and South Carolina were due to "electability"



'I want to thank anyone in the Screen Actors Guild for considering me an actor at all.'

**TINA FEY**, star of NBC's *30 Rock*, who took home a SAG award for her role on the show

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Sources: New York Times/Sydney Morning Herald/AF, Daily Mail/New York Times/PA



## NUMBERS

### HEALTH CARE

**62%**

Percentage of American voters who believe breast cancer is the most critical health problem facing women today

**50%**

Percentage who feel presidential candidates are spending too little time talking about health care; only 40% are aware of their candidate's general health-care program

### EDUCATION

**1,466**

Number of students with passing scores on advanced-placement tests in English, math and science in the 10 Dallas schools with a cash-for-grades program, up from 162 in 1990

**\$500**

Amount paid to the students who pass advanced-placement tests

### TOYS

**50**

Number of years since Lego building bricks first hit store shelves



**7**

Number of Lego sets sold every second by retailers worldwide

### ON THE ROAD

**\$8**

Cost of driving all 157 miles of the Indiana toll road for those paying cash, up from \$4.64. With the federal gas tax unchanged since 1993 at 18.4¢ per gal., tolls on bridges, tunnels and highways will see significant hikes nationwide

**50%**

Percentage increase in New Jersey tolls to come every four years, starting in 2010; depending on inflation, it could go even higher

Sources: KRC Research/USA Today/Christian Science Monitor, Gartner/USA Today/USA Today/PA

# People

## Q &amp; A

## Talking with Jerry Springer

An award-winning British opera about the controversial talk-show host could soon be on Broadway.

**Did you ever think someone would write an opera about you?** It's not a thing people normally expect, so no. My mother would be proud—I finally got culture. But there's no one to share the experience with, because they don't write operas about people who are alive. I can't call Carmen or Figaro.

**Were you skeptical about how good it would be?** I thought, Opera is my show put to music, because it's got all the same elements—a chorus, which is the crowd chanting; the gender misidentification; the chaos; the mock tragedy. I wish I had thought of it.

**Is it strange to see someone playing you onstage?** I play a character when I do the show. I've never thought I was being me up there. When I see someone playing me, they're not really playing me; they're playing the host of a crazy talk show. I've been doing the show for 17 years, but I've never associated myself with the character that plays the host.

**How long will your show go on?** It could go forever, because it has a niche. They certainly don't need me to do it. I don't add anything to it. At some point I'll get tired of doing it, but I can't tell you that it's a lot of hard work.



### Ledger fallout

**Police investigating Heath Ledger's death will not question MARY-KATE OLSEN, whom Ledger's masseuse allegedly called three times on discovering the late actor's body. The masseuse's calls to Olsen instead of 911 raised questions about Olsen's actions during the incident.**

### SAG AWARDS

**Veteran actors stole the spotlight at this year's Screen Actors Guild Awards. Notable honorees:**



THE STAR	JULIE CHRISTIE	RUBY DEE	CHARLES DURNING
<b>Age</b>	66	83	84
<b>2008 SAG honors</b>	Won for her leading role as an Alzheimer's patient	Surprise winner for her part in <i>American Gangster</i>	Honored with a SAG Life Achievement Award
<b>Words from speech</b>	"If I've forgotten anybody, it's just that I'm still in character."	"Well, this is my first time holding one of these boys."	"Tonight, thanks to all of you, I'm living my dream."
<b>Claim to fame</b>	Won an Oscar in 1966 for the film <i>Darling</i>	The actress was also a civil rights activist	Has starred in more than 50 TV movies

## Hey there Olympics

The unrequited crush of Tom Higgenson's hit *Hey There Delilah* used to be unknown. Now **DELILAH DICRESCENZO**, an Olympic-level runner, will escort him to the Grammys to give her sport a face.

### CELEBRITY ROUNDUP

**Convicted.** **DANNY GLOVER**, of trespassing, committed at a 2006 hotel-workers' union rally in Ontario

**Sued.** **DON IMUS**, for \$4 million, by Flatsigned Press. He called the publishers "bastards" in 2007 for promoting a Gerald Ford-signed copy of the Warren Commission Report after Ford's death

**In the works.** A bronze statue of Henry Winkler's *Happy Days* character **ARTHUR (FONZIE) FONZARELLI**, in Milwaukee, where the sitcom was set

**Releasing an album.** **SCARLETT JOHANSSON**, in May; she will sing 10 Tom Waits covers and one original song

**Pregnant.** The Dixie Chicks' **MARTIE MAGUIRE**, with a girl



## A villain's face?

Look for **TONY BLAIR'S SMILE** and **NICOLAS SARKOZY'S EYES** in the next *James Bond* film. Mathieu Amalric, who will play the villain, said those two features will be inspiration for his subtly evil portrayal.

# Milestones

**DIED** **THE MAN MANY REPUBLICANS** blame most for George H.W. Bush's reneging on his "Read my lips: no new taxes" pledge was Bush budget chief **Richard Darman**. As a top aide to Ronald Reagan, he was both an intellectual and a savvy technocrat. Yet the economist could be stubborn. After persuading Bush to reverse himself to reduce the deficit—a move that deeply damaged voters' trust and one that Bush called his biggest mistake—



Suharto

Darman maintained the error was tactical; the plan had just been badly presented. "I'm a long-term idealist and short-term realist," he said. Darman was 64 and had leukemia.

**HE WAS THE ROCK STAR OF** priests. Greek Orthodox leader **Archbishop Christodoulos** surfered the Web, cracked jokes and made a point of welcoming people who had AIDS. He mended an age-old rift with the Vatican by receiving Pope John Paul II in 2001—the first visit to Greece by a Pope in 1,300 years. He urged young people to come "as you are, earrings and all," and dramatically upped church attendance. Despite criticism for his sometimes shrill nationalism and willingness to meddle in politics—as when he called the Turks "Eastern barbarians" or attacked NATO's bombers of

Serbia as "pawns of Satan"—he remained one of his nation's most popular figures. He was 69 and had cancer.

■ "AT LEAST THE WORLD IS talking about us now," said **George Habash**, a pediatrician who in 1967 rejected Yasir Arafat's PLO to found the Marxist group Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Habash pioneered modern terrorist tactics in the war on Israel. During the '60s and '70s, his group orchestrated such high-profile attacks as the hijacking of an El Al plane in 1968, the bombing of a Jerusalem supermarket in 1969 and the gunning down of 27 people at Israel's Lod Airport in 1972. He was 82.

■ **LIFE IN THE GLARE OF WHITE** House cameras was no fun for **Margaret Truman**, the only child of Harry Truman, and her early attempt at a singing career was not much easier. (When a critic panned her "flat" voice, the President warned that if they met, the critic would need a "new nose.") Still, the witty, level-headed Margaret found her calling in 1980 when she published the best selling *Murder in the White House*, the first of a series of mysteries set in the



Archbishop Christodoulos

FBI, Supreme Court and other political hot spots. She was 83.

■ **HE HAD A N EERILY PRAC-**ticized, beatific smile, a secular philosophy that tamped down religious extremism, and an anticommunist bent that made him a key cold war ally for the U.S. Yet army general **Suharto** was also a brutal dictator who purged hundreds of thousands of critics as Indonesia's ruler from 1967 to 1998. He was forced to step down in the wake of the Asian financial crisis, but the controversy over his reign continued. Indonesia's new government launched inquiries into the corruption. Suharto sued TIME after it published its own 1999 investigation into his ill-gotten gains. He won his lawsuit on appeal; TIME is challenging the decision.

Suharto spent his postrule years living comfortably—and avoiding trial for his abuses—in central Jakarta. He was 86.

■ **IT IS A TESTAMENT TO THE** sense of mission of **Gordon Hinckley**, his easygoing nature



Hinckley

and his will to win broader understanding for his religion that the Mormon Church president agreed to speak to Mike Wallace in 1996. He told the tough *60 Minutes* reporter, "We are not a weird people." After taking over in 1995, Hinckley traveled around the world, held telegraphic events and oversaw a global expansion, during which believers outside the U.S. surpassed American Mormons for the first time, temples jumped from 49 to 120 worldwide and membership grew from 9 million to 13 million. Hinckley was 97.





# Joe Klein

## The Spoiler. Bill Clinton has cheapened the Democratic campaign and turned his wife's run into a co-candidacy. Here's why Hillary would be better off alone

"THERE MAY BE A BETTER SALESMAN than I am," Bill Clinton said, smiled, then paused as chuckles rippled through the audience. A better salesman? On what planet? This was classic, postpresidential Clinton, able to riff on his well-earned reputation as a mythic slinger of bull-pucky. I should add that the topic in question was nuclear nonproliferation. He had the audience hanging on his every word about ... nuclear nonproliferation. The Bush Administration wanted to develop two new nuclear weapons, he said, while it was trying to persuade the Iranians to stop enriching uranium. "There may be a better salesman than I am," he said, "but that's a tough sale. We're telling the Iranians, 'You can't have any of something we want two more of.'"

His voice was hoarse. His cheeks were splotched with wine-red daubs of what looked like clown rouge. He seemed a bit disheveled, wearing a light gray-green suit and a garish yellow tie, a costume more fitting for a used-car salesman than a former President. An aide told me that Clinton had pulled a Clinton the night before. Unwilling to stop campaigning after his last event, he had gone to the cafeteria at the University of South Carolina. About 15 kids were there, and they started texting their friends. Pretty soon several hundred kids had gathered, and Clinton held forth for two hours, answering their questions.

There are no 12-step programs for political junkies. And for Bill Clinton, there is no more powerful jones than

grabbing an audience, explaining something really complicated and worthy—nuclear nonproliferation—in a way that keeps the crowd completely enthralled. For a man known for his cornucopia of appetites, this is the greatest hunger. There is no controlling it, especially when he is in a defiant mood, under attack for his latest eruption of narcissism. It's his way of saying "No! Look! I'm not overwhelmingly selfish—just extremely, passionately interested in making the world better for you!"

I should add a bit more context here. The speech was given the night before the South Carolina primary. The setting was a historic spot, Penn Center on St. Helena Island, a complex of rude buildings that had served as a center for the civil rights movement, dating back to the Civil War. The crowd, however, was overwhelmingly white—a silent reproach to Clinton by his best-loved constituency, those unutterably decent, hardworking, middle-class, churchified African Americans. They had been shocked and hurt, and then enraged, by his foolish, two-week effort to diss Barack Obama. The next crowd, at Hillary Clinton's closing rally in Columbia, was equally pale and must have been deeply depressing to the ex-President. I remembered a huge inter-racial crowd in the Mississippi Delta, late in Clinton's presidency. I was standing next to Jesse Jackson, who was quite moved by the "glorious" sight of whites and blacks salt-and-peppered through the audience. I asked Jackson why he found it so moving; he had seen crowds like that before in the South. "But look," he said. "They're talking to each other!"

That was one of the great unquantifiable achievements of Clinton's presidency: he brought whites and blacks together, after years of racial tension, even within the Democratic Party. He was the first President to talk easily with blacks, as equals, without condescension. He was the best white politician I have ever seen in a black church. The bond he built with



that community seemed unbreakable. And so it was shocking—heartbreaking—to see it shattered in South Carolina, shattered by a thoughtless, solipsistic need for victory at any cost.

I was told by someone close to the President that he thinks he won New Hampshire for Hillary Clinton. If so, he is wrong. Senator Clinton won New Hampshire on the strength of her bond with working women. Indeed, I would guess that she was well on her way to winning the Democratic nomination on the strength of her performance in debates—in which she routinely left Obama seeming green and tongue-tied—and the strength of the

**The bond Bill Clinton built with the black community seemed unbreakable. And so it was shocking to see it shattered in South Carolina by a need for victory at any cost**



smart, nuanced positions she took on issues like health care and energy independence. But most of all, Clinton conveyed the impression that she was a rock, an unflappable presence in a stormy time for our country. You might disagree with her, but she had positioned herself as the ultimate, reasonable alternative to the dim-witted machismo of the Bush presidency.

In the past two weeks, though, Bill Clinton has redefined his wife's campaign. He has made it a co candidacy. He has cheapened it by using cheesy, misleading tactics against Obama. He began this the night before the New Hampshire primary, when he called Obama's antiwar opposition "a fairy tale,"

which was, well, bullpucky. Obama spoke out against the war before it began. When he reached the Senate, Obama had to deal with the awful reality on the ground: we had troops there; there was chaos. He proceeded to vote exactly like other Senators who had opposed the war—in favor of funding the troops, hoping for progress. As Iraq metastasized into a civil war, he began to vote for a responsible withdrawal. That Bill Clinton would turn this into an attack against Obama was almost as absurd as Clinton's turning Obama's statement that Ronald Reagan had changed the trajectory of the nation—and that, for a time, the Republicans had been the party of ideas—into a claim that

Obama thought GOP ideas were better. Clinton, after all, had said the same sort of things about Republicans in 1992. And he had been tougher on Democrats, decrying "the brain-dead politics of both parties in Washington." Indeed, almost everything Clinton said about Obama smacked of cheap political trickery (which is not to absolve the Obama campaign of some low moments of its own, but these were far outnumbered by the lame Clinton efforts to do a paint job on Obama).

It is difficult for people like me to gauge accurately the public impact of discrete campaign events; we are just too close to the heat of the process. I would guess that most voters aren't even aware that Clinton attempted some half-assed mudslinging in the past two weeks. But even the most casual observer is aware of this: at a moment of crisis in Hillary Clinton's campaign, Bill Clinton was suddenly back and all over the news. His reappearance made her seem weak, unable to defend herself. It raised the most fundamental question about her candidacy: If she is elected, who exactly will be President? What happens when there is a real crisis? My guess is, she'd be able to handle almost anything ... except him. I could easily see him jumping the shark, sending mixed messages when a single voice of authority is crucial—especially if the crisis involves one of his specialties, like the Middle East.

It is entirely possible that Hillary Clinton will win this nomination. One on one, she simply seems stronger than Obama. But two on one, she seems weaker. And if she wins the nomination, you can bet the co-presidency question will be front and center in the general election. It is, therefore, vital that she address it now. She's got to say something like, "Bill's a fighter, and he got a little too feisty these past few weeks. He knows that, and he's decided to return to his charitable work for the duration of the campaign. I will continue to run as I will govern—on my own."



# Why the Surge Worked



**Return to normal** Shoppers walk the once dangerous al-Dora district. Before the surge, markets in this neighborhood frequently witnessed fiery battles between insurgents and U.S. troops, right



A year after Bush sent 30,000 additional troops to Iraq, violence is down and al-Qaeda is in retreat. But the gains are still too fragile

BY MICHAEL DUFFY WITH  
MARK KUKIS/BAGHDAD

**L**IKE MANY RETAIL DISTRICTS IN downtown Baghdad, al-Kindy Street has lately had little to offer shoppers but a fine assortment of fear, blood and death. Shootings and regular bombings have shuttered many of al-Kindy's stores, where some of Baghdad's wealthiest residents once bought everything from eggplants to area rugs. At this time last year, al-Kindy was deteriorating into just another bombed-out corner of a city spiraling out of control.

Then came the surge—President George W. Bush's controversial deployment, beginning last January, of an additional 30,000 U.S. troops, that seemed as tactically bold as it was politically unpopular. With his approval ratings ebbing and a bipartisan group of wise elders urging him to withdraw U.S. forces from Iraq, Bush went in the other direction. Overcoming the opposition of the Joint Chiefs, Bush sent five additional combat brigades to secure the capital, hunt down al-Qaeda in Iraq in the countryside and, at least in theory, stop the violence long enough for the country's Sunnis and Shi'ites to find common ground on power-sharing.

The surge's successes and limits are both plainly visible on al-Kindy today. A well-stocked pharmacy has reopened. A new cell-phone store selling the latest in high-tech gadgets opened in December. A trickle of shoppers moved along the sidewalks on a recent chilly morning as a grocer, who asked that his name not be used, surveyed the local business climate. "Things are improving slightly," he said. "But not as much as we hoped." Indeed, if al-Kindy is coming back, it is doing so slowly, unevenly—and only with a lot of well-armed help. Sandbagged checkpoints stand at either end of al-Kindy, manned by Iraqi soldiers with machine guns. Iraqi police in body armor prowl back alleys and side streets to intercept would be car bombers. U.S. military officials often point visitors to al-Kindy Street as a metaphor for what is working—and what remains undone. "We still have some work to do,"



**Keeping the faith** A U.S. armored vehicle patrols a street in al-Dora as a woman walks to church. A year ago, Christians in this mixed neighborhood rarely left home for fear of attacks by jihadis



**On our side now** Two soldiers receive head scarves from a commander of the Concerned Local Citizens group in the Mekanik district. Many CLC members are ex-insurgents who now help the U.S. military

says Lieut. General Ray Odierno, the No. 2 U.S. commander in Iraq. "I tell everybody we've opened a window. There's a level of security now that would allow [Iraqi politicians] to take advantage of this window in time, pass the key legislation to bring Iraq together so they can move forward. Are they going to do that? In my mind, we don't know."

One year and 937 U.S. fatalities later, the surge is a fragile and limited success, an operation that has helped stabilize the capital and its surroundings but has yet to spark the political gains that could set the stage for a larger American withdrawal. As a result of improving security in Iraq,

the war no longer is the most pressing issue in the presidential campaign, having been supplanted by the faltering U.S. economy. Voters still oppose the war by nearly 2 to 1, but Democrats sense the issue could be less galvanizing as troops begin to return home. Republicans who supported the surge, like Arizona Senator John McCain, have been trying out tiny victory laps lately, but because the hard-won stability could reverse itself, both parties are proceeding carefully. Interviews with top officials in Baghdad and Washington and on-the-ground assessments by *TIME* reporters in Iraq reveal why the surge has produced real gains—but

also why the war still has the capacity to cause collateral damage half a world away.

#### **Bush's Plan—and Saddam's**

IT IS AN ENDURING MYSTERY OF THE BUSH White House that no one seems to know exactly when, how or why Bush decided to invade Iraq in 2003. But no such confusion clouds how the surge of 2007 was hatched. In December 2006, even as the Iraq Study Group was urging the President to begin a staged withdrawal from Iraq, another group of experts was putting together a very different plan. Fred Kagan of the American Enterprise Institute and retired Army General Jack Keane began

**Barrier relief** The U.S. strategy of building walls in the most volatile areas to separate Sunnis and Shi'ites has contributed to a sharp decline in sectarian violence over the past year





**Nobody home** A U.S. soldier searches an abandoned house in al-Dora. When insurgents ruled the streets of the neighborhood, many residents fled. Despite improved security, few have returned



**Free to play** In the mainly Sunni neighborhood of Saha in southern Baghdad, a little boy shows off his Iraqi flag cap and a T shirt picturing an American soldier and a helicopter

calling not for a pullout but for an escalation of troops—a one-time infusion of combat soldiers to push the insurgents out of Baghdad. The Kagan-Keane plan found an eager audience at the National Security Council and with Vice President Dick Cheney. Within days, the plan had been sold to Bush, who pulled out a lot of stops to persuade the Pentagon—as well as colleagues in Congress. One Republican lawmaker, having watched his party lose control of both houses because of the war just a few months before, told Bush in a White House meeting that he would support the surge but that the strategy was a little like throwing a Hail Mary on fourth

down. At about the same time, Bush told General David Petraeus, the top U.S. general in Iraq, that he would be getting additional troops.

Petraeus and his commanders had gotten a lucky break when U.S. forces raided an al-Qaeda command-and-control center in Taji, north of Baghdad. Captured in the raid, Odierno tells *TIME*, was a map of Baghdad that outlined al-Qaeda's plan to capture and control the "belt" cities around the capital and then use those as logistical hubs and staging areas from which to mount attacks on U.S. forces inside the city. The telltale map suggested that to stabilize Baghdad, U.S. forces would also have



#### One Year of the Surge

For more of Yuri Kozyrev's photographs from Iraq, go to [time.com/surge](http://time.com/surge)



Kozyrev's pictures from Baghdad for *TIME* magazine will appear at the Visa pour l'Image Photojournalism Festival in September in honor of its 20th anniversary

to root out the troublemakers lurking outside the city. "A lot of people thought what we needed to do was put everybody into Baghdad to secure the population," says Odierno. "But what we really thought was causing the sectarian violence were the car bombs, the indirect fire [from mortars and rockets] and the suicide bombers. And we really thought their supply networks were in these belts."

At about the same time Odierno was targeting the Baghdad beltway, he tasked his staff to find out how Saddam Hussein had defended Baghdad against the many secret cells and gangs that wanted to upend his regime. The answer came back: Saddam had always maintained a complex perimeter around Baghdad that on paper looked like a series of concentric circles. Saddam had posted his Republican Guard

a 3-to-2 basis: 3 soldiers inside the capital for every 2 outside the city. By the end of June, the generals began to notice that sectarian attacks were decreasing.

### Antagonists Become Allies

PETRAEUS AND ODIERNO ALSO REALIZED early on that the insurgents could never be defeated the old fashioned way. "You cannot kill your way out of an insurgency," Petraeus tells TIME. "You're not going to defeat everybody out there. You have to turn them." And many of America's enemies were ripe for turning. Before the surge, elements of al-Qaeda in Anbar province were carrying out grisly atrocities against local Sunnis, including women and children, who refused to join the jihad against Americans. The Sunnis approached the Americans for help, and Petraeus was happy to oblige. The local uprising against al-Qaeda is known as the Anbar Awakening, and it gave the U.S. a model for turning local tribes, clans and whole neighborhoods against the insurgents.

Sometimes the incentive has been simply the will to survive; at other times, the U.S. has rushed cash, logistical help and weapons to local militias in exchange for registration of their names and retinal IDs with U.S. officials. Over the past year, the U.S. has sanctioned more than 125 local proxy armies, an ad hoc force of at least 60,000 that one could call "the other surge." Known as Concerned Local Citizens groups (CLCs), these militias serve as watch groups, police forces and eyes and ears for U.S. forces all over Iraq. But while American commanders are delighted to have help, not all Iraqis are comfortable with the CLCs. Many in the Shi'ite-led Iraqi government worry that the citizens groups—which are mostly Sunni and in some cases are little better than street gangs—will eventually morph into antigovernment militias. Lately al-Qaeda has stepped up attacks on Sunnis who take up arms with the Americans.

As former Sunni insurgents have made common cause with the U.S., one of Iraq's largest Shi'ite factions has been eerily quiet. In late August, for reasons that are still a little mysterious, Muqtada al-Sadr ordered his Mahdi Army to desist from attacking U.S. forces. U.S. officials believe al-Sadr's move was less about helping the U.S. than about purging unruly elements from his 60,000-man militia. Another interpretation is that al-Sadr is simply waiting out the surge and that his fighters will return to the fray when U.S. troops have withdrawn. Whatever the reason, Odierno reckons that al-Sadr's cease-fire is responsible for a 15%-to-20% reduction in attacks on U.S. forces over the past year. U.S. military officers are

## 'You cannot kill your way out of an insurgency. You have to turn them.'

—GENERAL DAVID PETRAEUS,  
COMMANDER OF U.S. TROOPS IN IRAQ

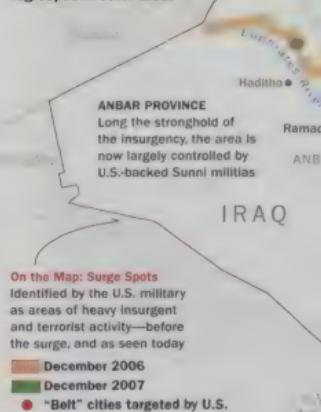
in various towns that ringed the capital, and inside the city, he had stationed his Special Republican Guard. If it had worked for Saddam, thought Petraeus and Odierno, it might work for them against the insurgents.

But they had to wait. Though Bush announced the surge in January 2007, several months would pass before all 30,000 additional troops reached Iraq and took up their positions. As the troops deployed, Petraeus and Odierno mounted a string of offensive operations against al Qaeda and insurgent strongholds all over Iraq: in Baghdad, in the belt towns and in cities deeper to the north and south. The idea was to shake the bad guys loose and then chase them down. Even with the extra troops, Odierno and Petraeus didn't have the forces to do this everywhere, but they dispersed their forces so widely that it seemed that way for a while.

Some of the initial results worried Odierno: U.S. casualties in May and June—227 killed—were so high that even he thought he might have miscalculated. But over the summer, the landscape began to change. In Baghdad, GIs moved out of their relatively safe megabases on the outskirts and into smaller bases in the city's violent neighborhoods—to live, form networks and walk patrols. Following Saddam's model, Odierno split his troops between Baghdad and the belt towns on

## One Year Later, A Different Map

Key to U.S. military success in the surge was the mounting of operations not just in Baghdad but also in surrounding cities that were being used as bases by insurgents. Although these "belt" cities have been cleared, insurgents have regrouped in other areas



### THE SURGE BY THE NUMBERS

#### TROOPS

**130,000**

U.S. troops in Iraq before the surge

**30,000**

Additional troops sent in 2007

#### U.S. CASUALTIES

**68**

Monthly average of U.S. troops killed in '06, before the surge

**84**

Killed in August '07

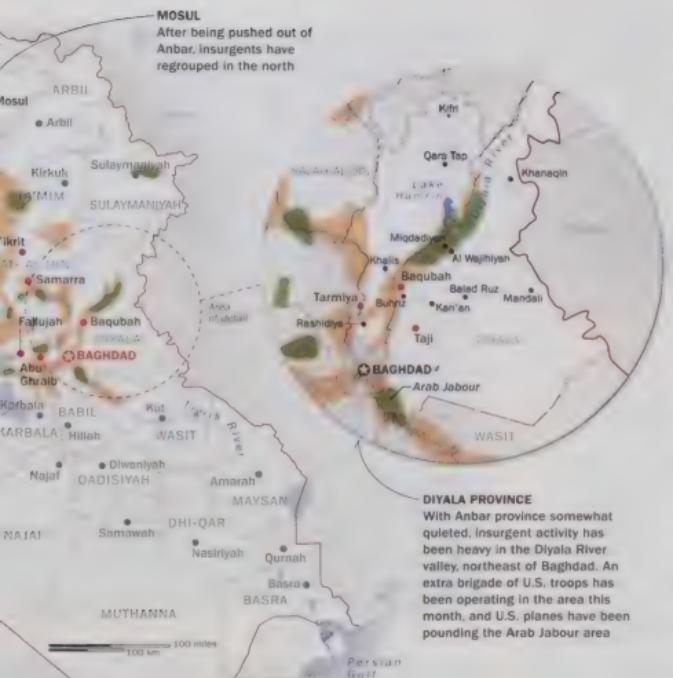
**23**

Killed in December '07

SOURCE: CASUALTIES AND IRAQ BODY COUNT, THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION'S IRAQ INDEX, U.S. MILITARY

now in touch with their counterparts at all levels of al-Sadr's operation, trying to persuade them to join the peaceful coalition, as some Sunni tribes have done. But whether that invitation will be accepted—or how long the cease fire will hold—is anyone's guess.

The surge's proponents say the main reason Iraq is quieter now than it was a year ago is that Odierno and Petraeus simply kept after the bad guys. "They



### MOSUL

After being pushed out of Anbar, Insurgents have regrouped in the north

### IRAQI CIVILIAN CASUALTIES

**2,871**

Monthly average of Iraqi civilians killed in '06

**1,600**

Killed in August '07

**550**

Killed in December '07

### IRAQI MILITARY AND POLICE CASUALTIES

**174**

Monthly average of security forces killed in '06

**76**

Killed in August '07

**72**

Killed in December '07

### INSURGENTS

**2,400**

Insurgents killed during the surge

**8,800**

Insurgents captured during the surge

### SUNNIS

**1,500**

Sunnis who signed up for pro-U.S. "awakening councils" before the surge

**25,000**

Iraqis currently in awakening councils. **60,000** others, mostly Sunnis, have enrolled in Concerned Local Citizens groups

went after about every safe haven at the same time," notes Kagan. "They followed up, they didn't give the enemy time to regroup and set up command-and-control centers." The strategy has been costly: 901 American troops died in Iraq in 2007, the deadliest year for U.S. forces since 2004. But Iraqi-on-Iraqi violence has dropped dramatically since the surge began, and U.S. fatalities decreased from 126 in May to 23 in December.

### How Long Can It Last?

ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING CHANGES OF 2007 is the relative candor with which U.S. military officers now talk about Iraq. Unlike most of their starry-eyed predecessors, when asked, Petraeus and Odierno are quick to list what isn't working well. Iraqi security forces remain unable to mount operations without the logistical help of U.S. forces. Al-Qaeda in Iraq is on the run, but it has not been routed, and it still enjoys free

rein in some parts of the country. Murder, death threats and kidnappings are still commonplace; more than 100,000 sections of concrete car bomb barriers now snake around Baghdad's neighborhoods. And in something of an understatement, even Petraeus calls the progress toward political reconciliation "tenuous." The largest Sunni bloc in parliament, known as the Accordance Front, walked out in August. In January, the parliament passed a measure that would extend to former Baathists and supporters of Saddam a measure of eligibility for service in the new government, which is largely controlled by Shi'ites. The move was long overdue, and no one knows whether the measure will ever be implemented; Sunnis are skeptical, and so, at times, is Washington. "We nudge. We push. We prod. We pull. We cajole," says U.S. ambassador Ryan Crocker. But he adds that the Iraqis "have to make the decision."

And that's the trouble. "The big problem remains that you've got a central government that is dysfunctional and disorganized, and that's being kind," says Representative Tom Cole, an Oklahoma Republican and a member of the House Armed Services Committee, who has been to Iraq seven times. Cole believes that the only thing that will compel Iraq's various factions to work together is the threat of U.S. withdrawal—something the Iraq Study Group proposed more than a year ago.

In fact, that's already happening. Several thousand troops involved in the surge have quietly begun to pull out. For now, Petraeus and Odierno are sticking by their plan to draw down U.S. forces by roughly 4,000 troops a month through July. Left unchanged, that would return U.S. forces close to their pre-surge level. But both men caution that it could be halted if violence flares up. Petraeus says further withdrawals depend on a matrix of unknowns: military and economic conditions, and whether the Iraqis are showing signs of governing themselves.

Uncertainties of that size make it impossible to know where the U.S. will be in Iraq in six months, and that's something the presidential candidates would be better off not trying to predict. Iraq is an undoubtedly safer, better place than it was 12 months ago. Yet the ultimate outcome in Iraq is out of the hands of Petraeus and the U.S. military. After a yearlong surge, the U.S. is about to move from the relatively safe ground of betting on its troops to betting on Iraqis. And that's a very different kind of wager. —WITH REPORTING BY DANIEL PEPPER AND MAZIN EZZAT/ BAGHDAD AND MARK THOMPSON AND BRIAN BENNETT/WASHINGTON

**'A friend told me this was impossible, that it's hopeless to try to organize students. Now he says, "Where do I sign up?"'**

# **It's Their Turn Now**

BY DAVID VON DREHLE



Alexander Marlow, 22, Republican, University of California, Berkeley



Khalil Sullivan, 26, Democrat, University of California, Berkeley



**Nick Solari, 20, Democrat, University of Georgia, Athens**



**Liliana Loofbourow, 27, Democrat, University of California, Berkeley**



**Teresa Lee, 22, Democrat, University of California, Berkeley**

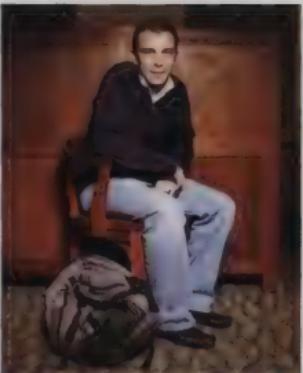


**Antonio Losavio, 21, independent, University of California, Berkeley**

**S**ENATOR CLAIRE MCCASKILL IS the highest-ranking Democrat in Missouri, and Missouri picks Presidents. The Show-Me State has voted for the winner in 25 of the past 26 elections. This is why the contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination fought so hard for McCaskill's endorsement. As her wary advisers helped her weigh the risks and rewards of siding with powerful Hillary Clinton or charismatic Barack Obama, neutrality began to look appealingly safe.

But there's something about an 18-year-old that can't abide careful hedging and cautious steps. The Senator's daughter Maddie Esposito had seen the way her mother teared up whenever she heard Obama speak. And now it was happening again as mother and daughter sat side by side on the family-room sofa in a suburb of St. Louis, watching the results of the Iowa caucuses on TV. "You know you believe in him," Maddie admonished her damp-eyed mother. "It's time to step up." The next morning, Maddie, a college freshman home for the holidays, added a threat: "You have to do it, or I'm never talking to you again."

McCaskill endorsed Obama—a big boost in an important Super Tuesday primary state. And the story of that endorsement is the Democratic nomination battle etched in miniature. Kids like Maddie Esposito are the muscle of Obama's army. His campaign has become the first in decades—maybe in history—to be carried so far on the backs of the young. His crushing margin of victory in Iowa came almost entirely from voters under 25 years old, and as the race moved to New Hampshire and Nevada, their votes helped him stay competitive. In South Carolina on Saturday, Jan. 26, Obama's better than 3-to-1 advantage among under-30 voters more than neutralized Clinton's narrower edge among over-65s. Now, as the candidates



## 'I didn't want to like [Romney] because he was Mormon. I don't think anyone should vote based on religion.'

—JOSH FINDLAY, 26, Republican, University of Georgia, Athens

shift to the coast-to-coast, Dixie-to-Dakota battlefield of Feb. 5, Obama is counting on a wave of Democrats experiencing their own McCaskill moments, roused to his banner by the fervent—if sometimes vague—urgings of youth.

Caroline Kennedy's three teenagers began working on her last year. "They were the first people who made me realize that Barack Obama is the President we need," the daughter of John F. Kennedy told an audience in Washington on Jan. 28. Her decision, joined by her uncle Senator Edward Kennedy, to place her father's mantle on Obama's shoulders was both a boost to Obama and a rebuke to the Clintons.

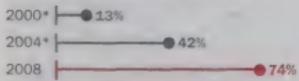
Frustrated by feckless Washington, energized by the unscripted, pundit-baffling freedom of a wide-open race, young people are voting in numbers rarely seen since the general election of 1972—the first in which the voting age was lowered to 18. Obama is both catalyst and beneficiary. In state after state, he has drawn more young voters than any of his competitors. For a group of voters with no memory of a time before Bushes and Clintons, Obama is a fresh face. His opponents promise to fight, but Obama promises healing. His is the language of possibility, which is the native tongue of the young. And if he happens to be light on details—well, what are details but the dull pieces of disassembled dreams? "I had a friend tell me this was impossible, quoting all these political science statistics at me to show that it's hopeless to try to organize students," says Michelle Stein, 20, media coordinator for Obama's youth campaign in Missouri. "Now he says, 'You were right, I was wrong. Where do I sign up?'"

Combining digital-age technology with old-fashioned shoe leather, the Illinois Senator first rallied Iowa students to cancel Clinton's cakewalk. While enthusiastic Democrats of all ages produced a 90% increase in turnout for the first caucuses, the number of young voters was up half again as much: 135%. The kids preferred Obama over the next-closest competitor by more than 4 to 1. The youngest slice—the under-25 set, typically among the most elusive voters in all of politics—gave Obama a net gain of some 17,000 votes. He won by just under 20,000.

The excitement that created—a "tidal wave," in the words of Bill Clinton—nearly drowned the hopes of the former President's wife. But Hillary Clinton answered with her own organizational prowess, whipping up huge numbers of working-class, female and older Democrats. Only the students have kept Obama in contention. In New Hampshire, his edge among young voters was 3 to 1; in Nevada, it was 2 to 1; and in Michigan, nearly 50,000 under-30s voted "Uncommitted" because Clinton's name was the only one on the ballot. In a year of unprecedented levels of participation by Democrats of all ages, Obama is counting on a youthquake that reverberates upward. On the short road remaining to Super Tuesday, the race may come down to this: Will the youthful ranks of Obama's movement grow virally as the election goes national? And will a public long trained to follow youthful trends be swept up in the tide?

## Poll: The Under-30 View

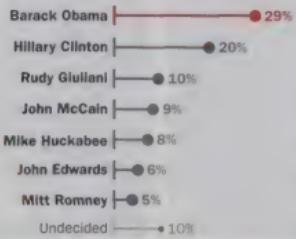
Percentage of 18-to-29-year-olds paying attention to the presidential campaigns



How interested are you in the presidential campaigns?



If the primary or caucus in your state were held today, for whom would you vote?



\*2000 and 2004 data are from the Kennedy School of Government's Voting and Nonvoting Voter Study, taken at a comparable time in the election cycle.

## THE GROUND GAME

OBAMA IS TAPPING INTO A BROAD AUDIENCE of energized young voters hungry for change, according to a new TIME poll of

under-30 Americans. Nearly three-quarters of the respondents said they feel the country is headed down the wrong track, with majorities expressing worries about jobs, affordable health care and the war in Iraq. Their interest in the election exceeds their interest in celebrity news or sports—7 of 10 said they are paying attention to the race. Obama is the only candidate in either party who is viewed favorably by a majority of young people, and he has half again as much support as his nearest competitor, Democrat or Republican.

But Obama's support among youth is not just a matter of mood; it is a product of effort and organization, of finding his supporters and getting them to the polls. In TIME's national survey, he has a 3-to-2 advantage over Clinton among young voters, but he is doing significantly better than that in actual balloting, thanks to his superior ground game.

No other candidate can claim similar success. Turnout has been lackluster for all Republicans this year. In South Carolina, Obama drew more under-30 votes than all Republican candidates combined, according to exit polls. Mike Huckabee does well among conservative Christian youth, but there is no sign of a surge in their ranks. The young people marching to Ron Paul's drum are long on passion but short on numbers—roughly 3,000 in South Carolina, for example, compared with Obama's estimated 50,000. After gaining strength among voters whose views were formed in the Reagan years, the GOP has the support of only 1 in 3 young people today, and the party's luster has faded among independents.

Obama's outreach to students didn't spring from some starry-eyed principle. It started as a specific element of his early strategy in Iowa. The first-in-the-nation caucuses allow 17-year-olds to vote if they are going to turn 18 before the general election, which means most high school seniors are eligible. To win those kids, Obama did something unusual in politics: he made them a genuine priority. After his rallies in towns across the state, he met backstage with student leaders from the area—a privilege most campaigns reserve for local VIPs and fund raisers. He also hired as his youth-vote coordinator Hans Riemer, a veteran of Rock the Vote, which has been working to mobilize the student vote for years, with increasing success. Riemer extracted a promise that his work would be an integral part of the overall campaign, not a lip-serviced, photo-op'd afterthought. His timing was perfect. The art of political organizing is in the midst of a broad philosophical overhaul that erases many of the old distinctions

between young voters and their elders.

Basically, it's 19th century politics using 21st century tools. The idea is rooted in a deceptively simple truth: voters are more likely to go to the polls if they are asked face to face by someone they trust. The rediscovery of this antique notion began in the 1990s when researchers at Yale University published several influential studies proving that personal canvassing is more effective than direct mail or phone calls from strangers. In 2001, Republicans put the idea to a test in several special congressional elections, and the extra money and time devoted to door-knocking produced instant results. So the GOP expanded the effort in 2002, then applied it to presidential politics in 2004. The party's mammoth "72-Hour Project"—named for the final weekend of the campaign, when GOP volunteers made literally millions of personal pitches—helped George W. Bush become the first candidate since 1988 to win a majority of the popular vote.

"It's really the same way we organized

back in the heyday of political machines: know your voters and turn them out personally," says George Mason University associate professor Michael McDonald, an expert on voter participation. "Obama has keyed into this and applied it on campus, using students to recruit other students."

What began as a tactic to capture rural caucuses snowballed into a systematic strategy. Obama put his money where his mouth was, spending precious radio and television dollars on ads aimed specifically at Iowa students. A student-to-student phone bank dialed tens of thousands of dorm rooms and cell phones. By Election Day, "we had our entire field operation working to turn them out," says Riemer.

One recent evening in the trendy loft district of downtown St. Louis, students from Missouri campuses gathered at Obama's state headquarters to plan the

ROCK THE VOTE  
For more information on organizations that are rallying teens to vote in 2008, visit [time.com](http://time.com)



**'I'm for any Democrat but Hillary. She could lose, and I don't want that on the table.'**

—ANNE WIDERNA, 19, Democrat, University of California, Berkeley



**'Young voters think their vote won't count. But it will make a difference.'**

JASON EVANS, 19, Republican/Libertarian, University of Georgia, Athens

final phase of their own Super Tuesday effort. Quentin Anderson, 19, welcomed them by saying, "The youth vote is the most important factor in this cycle. We need to keep that momentum going." Glenn Rehn, 25, reported that Obama volunteers at the University of Missouri had collected 800 signed pledges of support before leaving campus for winter break. Kevin Wolfe, 19, said that for his group at Washington University in St. Louis, the Iowa success was like throwing a switch. "People see that he can win, and they are moving off the fence."

As the meeting continued, the students traded ideas for fund-raising concerts and teasingly racy "Show Us Your O-Face" parties. They discussed plans for "dorm-storming," a canvassing technique that matches student volunteers with dormitories where they live or have friends. "It's a very intimate interaction because they're hearing about Obama from someone they already know," Wolfe explained.

The point of all these activities is to collect as many names as possible of potential supporters and then badger the prospects until they cast their ballots. Those Yale

studies found that pleading doesn't become ineffective until after the third appeal. Washington University sophomore Charlie Bittner, 19, told the group he planned to take the personal approach even further. "I will lead groups every 30 minutes from a spot on campus to the polling place," he said. "People feel more comfortable if they're part of a group."

The 21st century part is this: technology makes it easier than ever to create networks and share enthusiasm. Facebook, the largest of Internet social-networking sites, boasts a market share of more than 85% of four-year U.S. universities, with millions of members averaging 20 minutes per day on-site exploring interests and keeping track of friends. Facebook has all the power of Meetup, the online campaign sensation that powered Howard Dean's brief moment in the presidential spotlight four years ago—plus much more. Its 65 billion page



views per month make Facebook perfect for rapidly spreading messages and creating trends. "A kid puts up an Obama page, and suddenly she has 35 friends gathered," Riemer marvels. "It was so much more work to get started just five years ago."

That is not the only advantage of technology. Finding and communicating with students have traditionally been a nightmare for politicians. Students are constantly moving from home to dorm to group house to campus apartment. They don't typically show up in the databases purchased by campaigns: rolls of past voters, lists of homeowners and membership files of special interest groups. They aren't regular watchers of TV news or subscribers to newspapers. But kids can now catch candidate speeches and debate snippets on YouTube. Their cell-phone numbers and e-mail addresses follow them everywhere. Technology makes it easier for them to volunteer too: students who might never show up at a phone bank can now download contacts from a central database and make calls from the comfort of their dorm rooms. Loosely connected to traditional networks, young people are intensely connected online. They once were lost but now can be found, and Obama is being rewarded for making the effort to look.

### **BARACK THE VOTE**

IF YOU WANT TO FEEL OLD, JUST TELL A group of teenagers today that you can remember a time when the Clintons were hip. There was this guy on TV, see, called Arsenio Hall, and Bill Clinton went on wearing sunglasses and playing a saxophone, and, well, no, it wasn't on YouTube—this was before most people had heard of the Internet—oh, never mind. There's nothing new, for today's young people, about a Clinton replacing a Bush.

Claire McCaskill's daughter, to take one newly eligible voter, was all of 2 years old when that happened the first time. The Gingrich revolution came during her pre-K years; impeachment was around second grade. In other words, no matter how many times Hillary Clinton intones the magic word of 2008—change—it's going to ring a bit hollow, because she is an eternal piece of their mental furniture.

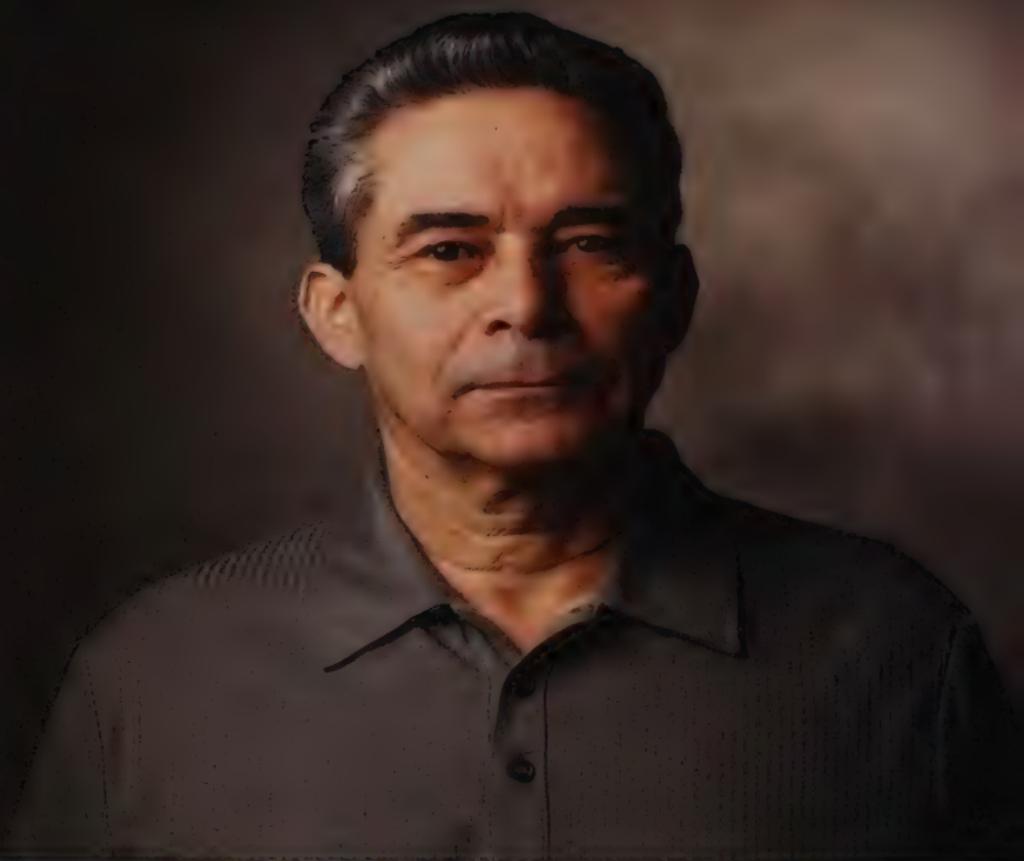
Obama, by contrast, radiates the new. He doesn't just talk about change; he looks like change. His person and his platform are virtually indistinguishable. Obama, like Tiger Woods and Angelina Jolie, has

### **Inside the Magazine**

*A foldout voter's guide to the Republican and Democratic positions on six key issues: education, immigration, trade, the environment, Iraq and health care*

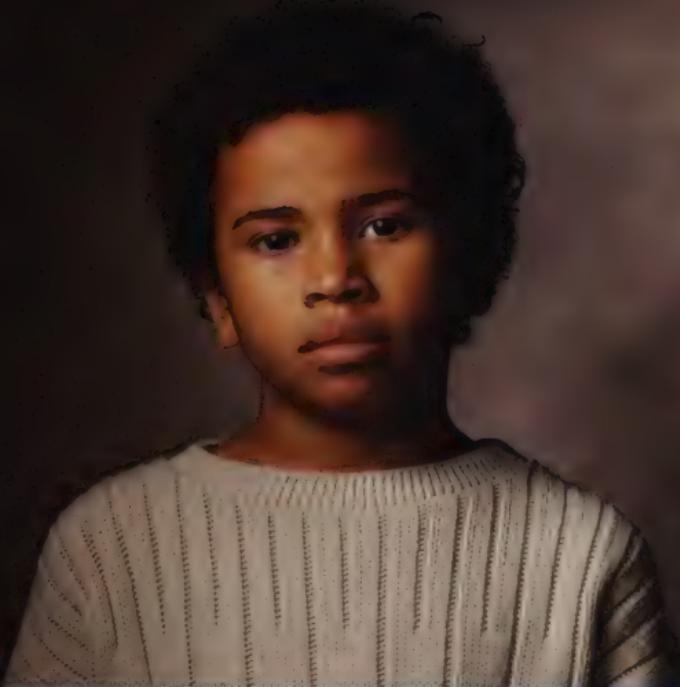
1 out of 7  
isn't just a statistic...

**It's a father who chooses to feed his family over  
seeing his doctor for chest pains.**



**VoiceForTheUninsured.org**

**It's a child sitting helpless as his asthma develops  
into serious complications or death.**



because 1 out of 7 is 47 million too many.

**AMA**  
AMERICAN  
MEDICAL  
ASSOCIATION

# Voter's Guide To the Issues

If it feels like the presidential primary campaigns have been more about personality traits and nitpicking than serious policy differences, it's because on most major topics—from Iraq to health care to the environment—the distinctions between rivals are paper-thin. Hillary Clinton favors a health-care mandate, Barack Obama doesn't, but both want universal health care. The real fight is just around the corner in the general election. And the competing Democratic and Republican approaches to the key issues are like oil and water. Or Oprah and Chuck Norris. —BY KRISTINA DELL AND ALEXANDRA SILVER

## Less federal government and more privatization

- Republican candidates tend to offer qualified support for President George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind (NCLB) education plan, while calling for more local control and flexibility. The original NCLB, they argue, gave the Federal Government too much power
- Rudy Giuliani is among the most vocal advocates for privatization and school choice—providing vouchers for private and parochial as well as charter schools



## Republicans

## Democrats

## Don't leave the money behind for fixing our schools

- Though NCLB passed in 2001 with broad bipartisan support, almost all Democrats now agree it is underfunded and in need of major reform
- Democrats would overhaul NCLB to ensure that schools are not punished for underwhelming performance. But they struggle to determine exactly how to require accountability
- Most argue that educational progress should be measured differently and that there is too much emphasis on tests
- Increasing access to prekindergarten programs and investing more in public education continue to be priorities



'When we...  
children, we...  
a little was...'

—HILLARY



# Education



**CREATIVE LEARNING**  
CLB focuses on  
teaching math and  
reading, but Mike  
Buckabee promotes  
the importance of  
art and music, what  
he calls "weapons  
of mass instruction."

**THE MAVERICK**  
**RON PAUL**  
He wants to abolish  
the U.S. Department  
of Education  
altogether, leaving the  
issue to the  
states



*When we look at our  
children, we don't just see  
little walking test.'*  
HILLARY CLINTON

**THE MAVERICK**  
**BARACK OBAMA**  
At the risk of  
alienating the  
powerful teachers'  
unions, Obama  
supports merit pay  
for teachers



## Tighten borders and restrict immigration

- There is broad GOP support for building a permanent fence along the Mexican border
- Many conservatives oppose letting illegal immigrants apply for citizenship. More moderate approaches, like those once proposed by John McCain and Giuliani, provide a path to citizenship for those who pay fines and learn English
- Most candidates support tougher penalties for employers who hire illegal immigrants



*I'm concerned about the  
next 12 million or 20  
million ... Enforcement  
at the border has to be  
primary.'*

—FRED THOMPSON



**VIVA RUDY?** As mayor,  
Giuliani championed  
immigrant rights.  
As a candidate, he  
opposes amnesty and  
wants biometric IDs  
for noncitizens



## Expand free trade

- More aggressive advocacy of free-trade agreements than their Democratic counterparts. Republicans insist that decreasing trade barriers with other nations is necessary to compete in the global economy. Most support the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA)
- At the same time, some Republicans have pushed for tougher laws to protect American patents and technology—particularly from piracy by the Chinese

## Provide a clear path to citizenship

- The Democratic focus has been on providing illegal immigrants a clear path to citizenship that involves requirements to learn English and pay a fine, imposing stricter penalties on those who hire undocumented workers and enforcing current immigration laws
- Most Democratic candidates oppose the idea of giving illegal aliens driver's licenses
- The issue of legal immigration often divides Democrats. Politicians from rural areas want to allow in immigrants who could fill essential local jobs. Their suburban colleagues say skilled immigrants compete with vulnerable workers



**BORDER RESTRAINT**  
In 2006, Bush signed  
a bill for a 700-mile  
(1,100 km) fence  
to span a third of  
the U.S. border with  
Mexico to stop some  
of the 500,000 illegal  
immigrants who cross  
over each year. Most  
candidates support  
the fence, although  
John Edwards has  
called for a more  
limited one



## Embrace fair or "smart" trade

- Democrats were largely opposed to CAFTA and insist that free-trade agreements must be fair. That means including labor and environmental protections, as well as retraining and providing assistance to U.S. workers whose jobs are jeopardized by lower economic barriers between countries
- They want to enforce protections guaranteed in past trade agreements

**ion**

**Immigration**

**Trad**



## Go nuclear and pursue energy independence

- Some in the party are skeptical of the human role in global warming, but most agree climate change should be addressed. Most advocate expanded use of nuclear energy, while only some support higher fuel-economy standards for automobiles and a cap-and-trade system to limit carbon emissions
- A popular solution for moving toward energy independence is drilling for oil in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR)



**THE MAVERICK**  
**JOHN McCAIN**  
He is a co-sponsor of cap-and-trade legislation, opposes drilling in ANWR and criticizes skeptics of climate change



*'What was wrong with Kyoto is said, O.K., America, you put in place these caps, but China—who is now the biggest greenhouse-gas emitter in the world—you don't have to do anything.'*

MITT ROMNEY



## The mission must be accomplished

- The Republicans are almost all committed to staying in Iraq indefinitely and oppose timetables for troop withdrawals. All candidates except Paul supported Bush's surge, which increased troop levels in 2007
- They disagree about how to determine when Iraq is stable. When local police are fully trained? Attacks decrease?
- 69% of GOP voters want troops to stay until Iraq is stabilized and 73% of Democrats want troops withdrawn as soon as possible, says a December 2007 Pew Research poll



*'We've never discussed'*  
— RUDY GIULIANI



**THE VETERAN**  
Some Rep. candidates taken on the Adminstration's treatment of veterans, vowing to increase medical care benefits for soldiers

## Stop climate change by reducing carbon emissions

- The party of green guru Al Gore has rallied around instituting a cap-and-trade system to reduce U.S. carbon emissions 80% below 1990 levels by 2050
- Democrats also support reducing energy use, raising corporate average fuel-economy (CAFE) standards for cars and making federal buildings more efficient



**ENERGY SOURCES**  
Generally, Democrats are strong advocates for investing in renewable energy and oppose drilling for oil in ANWR. But they are divided on whether to expand the use of nuclear power

## Bring troops home soon—but when?

- Although many Democrats voted in 2002 in support of Bush's decision to invade Iraq, there are few who still defend that action. These days, the debate is not about whether to withdraw troops from Iraq, but how soon
- All Democratic presidential candidates opposed Bush's surge in 2007 to increase troop levels, and they have pushed for a timetable on an exit strategy for Iraq
- Despite their opposition, Democrats still overwhelmingly vote to provide funding for troops in Iraq. Congress passed the latest spending bill by a vote of 397 to 27 in the House and 92 to 3 in the Senate



**OBAMA VS.**  
He has proposed or two brigades of troops, while vowing to withdraw in a phased way as more troops leave



# Environment

# Iraq



We've never won a war while discussing how to retreat.'

—RUDY GIULIANI



THE VETERAN VOTE Some Republican candidates have taken on the Bush administration's treatment of veterans, owing to improve medical care and benefits for returning soldiers.



**BAMA VS. CLINTON**  
She has proposed withdrawing one two brigades each month for 16 months, with a force remaining to battle insurgents. She favors phased withdrawal, with all troops leaving by 2013.



**THE MAVERICK JOHN EDWARDS**  
He wants all combat troops out of Iraq within 10 months, leaving a few small forces in neighboring countries.



## Fix the system through cost containment

- Republicans haven't traditionally seen health care as a top priority—but they are increasingly concerned about skyrocketing premiums, which have risen four times as fast as wages since 2000
- They oppose government control of the health-care industry and mandates for health insurance
- Favorite solutions include converting to electronic medical records, limiting malpractice suits and encouraging preventive care



### CHANGE OF PLANS

Romney's national proposal differs from the health-care plan he created as governor of Massachusetts, which requires residents to purchase health insurance or face a fine.



### BUT THE PEOPLE SAY...

44% of GOP voters favor the government guaranteeing universal health insurance, even if it means a tax increase, says a November 2007 Pew Research poll.

## Republicans Democrats

## Achieve universal access to health care

- Democrats all agree on a goal of universal health-care coverage that includes the 47 million Americans who are currently uninsured
- Some plans would set up a public health-care system and allow Americans to choose between the government-regulated system, which would work like Medicare, or a pool of private plans. All employers, except very small ones, must cover their workers. Democrats would pay for the system by rolling back Bush's tax cuts for those earning more than \$250,000 a year
- They endorse giving patients the right to sue HMOs for medical costs and damages

### OBAMA'S OPTION

He would cover all children and work toward universal coverage. But he prefers making coverage more affordable, not mandating it.



### CLINTON CARE

She wants universal coverage within eight years, with mandatory insurance subsidized by employers and the government.



### REPAIR THE SYSTEM

Edwards has spoken repeatedly about Natalie Sarkisyan, a 17-year-old girl who required a liver transplant. She died just hours after her insurance company reversed its decision not to cover the operation. Edwards supports universal and mandatory coverage, even for same-sex couples.

# Health Care

1 out of 7 isn't just a statistic.  
It's a woman with no opportunity for  
early detection of breast cancer.



47 million uninsured. It's not just a number or a graph in a report. It's people all around you. Like a friend. A neighbor. A relative. People who are suffering. And you can do something about it. One out of seven of us doesn't have health insurance, but we all have access to a voting booth. Please vote with this issue in mind. To learn more and share your voice about this issue, visit [VoiceForTheUninsured.org](http://VoiceForTheUninsured.org).

**VoiceForTheUninsured.org**

Because 1 out of 7 is 47 million too many.



**AMA**  
AMERICAN  
MEDICAL  
ASSOCIATION



## 'Political affiliation [doesn't matter] as long as someone casts a vote.'

—LAURA STONE, 20, Republican, University of Georgia, Athens

one of those faces that seem beamed from a postracial future, when everyone will have a permanent, noncarcinogenic tan. He has small kids and a low BMI. His voice rumbles with authority, but his ears stick out like Opie Taylor's. His campaign is crawling with cool young people, and the candidate fits right in. We've yet to see Obama flustered or harried; instead, he gives off the enigmatic Zen confidence of the guy who is picked first for every game.

His lack of experience can even seem like an asset to young voters. "I like that he's new," says Neil Stewart, 18, a freshman at the University of Colorado in Boulder. "We need some freshness in our government right now." Obama's "inexperience means he comes in with a fresh look and isn't quite as jaded by the politi-

cal system as most other people are," says Jennifer Zamarripa, 26, a University of Denver law-school student. "He's new and modern and breaking with the past," says José Villanueva, 21, a senior at Claremont McKenna College in California.

It's hard to overstate the extent to which thick Washington résumés are out of vogue on U.S. campuses. Especially among young Democrats, many of whom cast their first votes in 2006 to elect a Congress that would change course in Iraq and make progress on issues like health care. The yawning chasm between what was promised in that campaign and what the Democratic Congress has actually delivered makes everyone with seniority in Washington automatically suspect. Joseph Biden and Christopher Dodd probably have socks that have spent more



## 'This is not what politics should be about.'

—KHALIL SULLIVAN, 26, a Berkeley Democrat

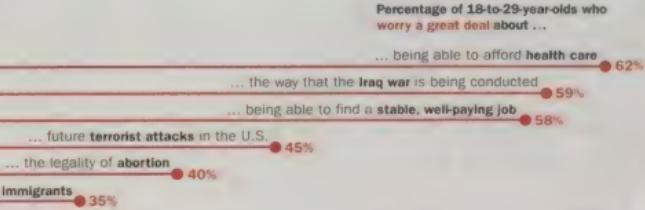
who is angry about the "dishonest" Bush Administration

time in the Senate than has Obama, and look what good their years of experience did for them.

It's also true that the issues of the past are not necessarily the issues most compelling for today's students. Pollster Frank Luntz gathered a focus group of New Hampshire students on the eve of the primary there, and the hour-long conversation barely touched on the hot buttons of yore: abortion, crime and affirmative action. Their world, after all, encompasses RU 486, lower murder rates and Oprah. What concerns many of them is the nature of politics: the perceived gridlock of parties, conniving of special interests and shallow biases of the media. When Obama talks broadly about changing those dynamics, what strikes some older ears as airy and

## Fear Factors

Are things in this country heading in the right direction, or are they off on the wrong track?



substance-free hits younger voters as the chime of insight. Washington University senior Matt Adler, 21, puts it this way. "What Obama brings to the forefront is the issue of process. It's not just what gets done but how it gets done; the morality of the process matters. Being honest, open and inclusive is an issue in itself."

Of course, young people are far from unanimous. "If we were electing someone on the basis of their ability to give great speeches, then Obama would be a great choice," says Jonathan Beam, 21, a political-science major at Emory University. "But Hillary Clinton outshines the rest of the field with her experience, and I just don't think we can afford to let another candidate get on-the-job training." While you can find students who aren't voting for Obama, though, it's harder to find students who don't recognize his appeal. "A lot of my friends from home are Republicans," says Caitlin Ellis, 20, a University of Missouri junior, "and it's refreshing not to have to fight tooth and nail with them when I say I'm for Obama."

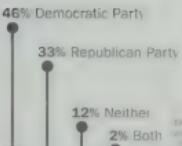
Where Obama could be onto something truly rare is the way his campaign themes, personal story and base of support reinforce one another. Obama radiates change, which attracts young people, which in turn validates the message of change. He tells young people they can make a difference, and they decide to vote, thus making a difference. "Hope is the thing with feathers," as Emily Dickinson

## The Inspiration Gap

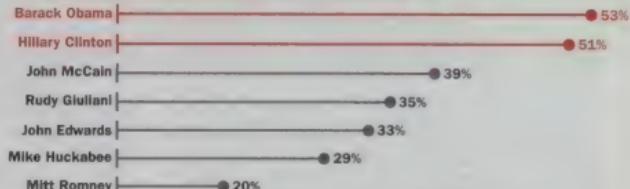
How much impact will this election have on the country?



Which political party understands the needs of people like yourself?



Percentage who said INSPIRATIONAL describes the candidate well:



This TIME poll was conducted Jan. 18-21 among 503 randomly selected adult Americans from 18 to 29 years old by SRBI Public Affairs. The survey includes an oversample of college students because of their high representation in this demographic group. The new sample was supplemented by 18-to-29-year-olds identified in previous telephone random digit dial samples. The margin of error is ±4 percentage points. The full questionnaire and results can be found at [www.srmc.com](http://www.srmc.com).

put it, and if Obama can make it fly, it can have deep implications in a society primed to follow the passions of youth. As cultural critic Thomas Frank explained in his book *The Conquest of Cool*, advertising agencies in the 1960s forever transformed youth from a demographic group to a consuming ideal. Historian T.J. Jackson Lears of Rutgers University traces the association of youth with political renewal far into America's past. "It's quite thoroughly embedded," he says. "It really begins with Theodore Roosevelt," who became President at age 42. Freshness and vitality have almost always sold better than the worry lines of veteran leadership.

### TOMORROW'S DEMOCRATS TODAY

WILL IT HAPPEN? THERE ARE PLENTY OF reasons to doubt. Obama's Iowa effort was long on money and loaded with time. Conditions were perfect for the slow, hard work of grass-roots organizing. Now it's the opposite. On Feb. 5, half the remaining states will vote, including those with megapopulations such as California, Arizona, Georgia and New York State. What's more, the rules are less favorable to student organizers. Iowa, New Hampshire and Nevada all had some of the most liberal voting laws in the country. Same-day registration meant that first-time voters could be swept to the polls by a last-minute appeal. By contrast, those Missouri volunteers and their counterparts in many other states face the hard fact that students who weren't registered weeks earlier will be stuck on the sidelines. They can't catch the Obama wave no matter how many times they are asked in the cafeteria.

However, Hillary Clinton also confronts the harsh math of too many states and too few resources. Super Tuesday will be another step into uncharted territory in this unusually competitive, uniquely front-loaded campaign. In the absence of wall-to-wall television ads, what role will online communications play? Will turnout remain high as campaign field operations are stretched thinner than pantyhose? If the enthusiasm wanes, who stays home—Obama's kids or Hillary's geezers? "I'm confident that we will turn out more young voters than ever before," says Riemer, "but what size piece of the puzzle that ultimately is, I just can't say."

When young people get involved, they tend to stay involved. The graybeards of today's Democratic Party were once the inspired youth of the New Frontier, or Clean for Gene McCarthy, or bell-bottomed foot soldiers for George McGovern. Scan the crowd at an Obama rally, squint, and you just might see the future. For the moment, it's enough for young Obama supporters to feel that they are part of something big and historic. "I am a believer that change can happen," says Patricia Griffin, 25, a student at St. Louis Community College. "So-called Washington experience has given us an unjustified war, an economy slipping, the dollar losing its value, health care impossible to afford. I'm telling my friends they can make a difference this time. They can vote." —WITH REPORTING BY KAREN TUMULTY/WASHINGTON, PAIGE BOWERS/ATHENS, RITA HEALY/DENVER, KRISTIN KLOBERDANZ/BERKELEY AND JUSTIN HORWATH/MINNEAPOLIS



**'The country is excited to have change after having Bush for two terms.'**

—TERESA LEE, 22, Democrat, grad student, University of California, Berkeley



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NATION | CAMPAIGN '08

## Endorsement Politics. The head of one Democratic dynasty breaks ranks with the other one

BY KAREN TUMULTY

WHEN EDWARD KENNEDY BESTOWED HIS blessing on Barack Obama at a thunderous rally in Washington, he had only sweet words about Obama's chief rival for the Democratic nomination—at least when he mentioned Hillary Clinton by name. But it was hard to miss what the senior member of one of the U.S.'s most storied Democratic clans was really saying about the political style of another dynastic family. Obama, Kennedy declared, "has given America a different kind of campaign—a campaign not just about himself but about all of us."

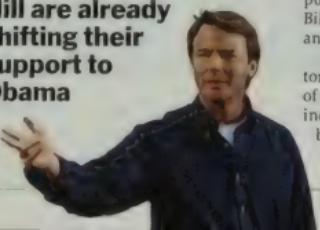
In many ways, the Democratic race has become a referendum on Clintonism and the politics of the 1990s. The way the Clintons see it, those grimy battles prove they can beat the worst things the Republicans or anyone else can throw their way. If their opponents want to relitigate a decade of peace overseas and brimming 401(k)s at home, the Clintons say, bring it on.

But there are many in the party establishment who don't remember the history of that decade quite that way. What they recall is the "triangulation" that made Democrats on Capitol Hill nearly irrelevant. And they are still trying to recover, they say, from the wreckage that was left

behind. While Bill Clinton fought his way to being the first Democratic President since F.D.R. to be re-elected, the party lost its majorities in the House and the Senate, as well as in the governors' mansions and statehouses across the country.

Clinton still maintains a formidable edge with many of those party leaders and elected officials, including those who by virtue of their positions go to the party convention as "superdelegates." But superdelegates are notoriously fickle. As a big Democratic fund raiser puts it, "They are the Claude Rains of politics; whichever way the wind blows, the superdelegates will follow." And right now, the Clinton

**Key Edwards endorsers on Capitol Hill are already shifting their support to Obama**



**Passing the torch** Kennedy and Obama shared a private moment before the senior Senator announced his endorsement

campaign is spending enormous effort holding onto the ones they have, with both Clintons staying in constant contact with delegates feared to be wavering.

What has to be making them nervous is that more and more of the Democratic establishment, particularly on Capitol Hill, is breaking rank with the Clintons—despite the fact that she is leading in the polls and, if elected, may be disinclined to forgive turncoats. Kennedy's defection followed those of 2004 Democratic nominee John Kerry (along with many of his biggest fund raisers) and Vermont's Pat Leahy. Obama also counts among his growing list of supporters Senators such as Tim Johnson, Kent Conrad, Ben Nelson and Claire McCaskill, as well as governors Janet Napolitano and Kathleen Sebelius, who hail from red states where Democrats openly worry about what could happen to the rest of the ticket if Hillary Clinton is perched at the top.

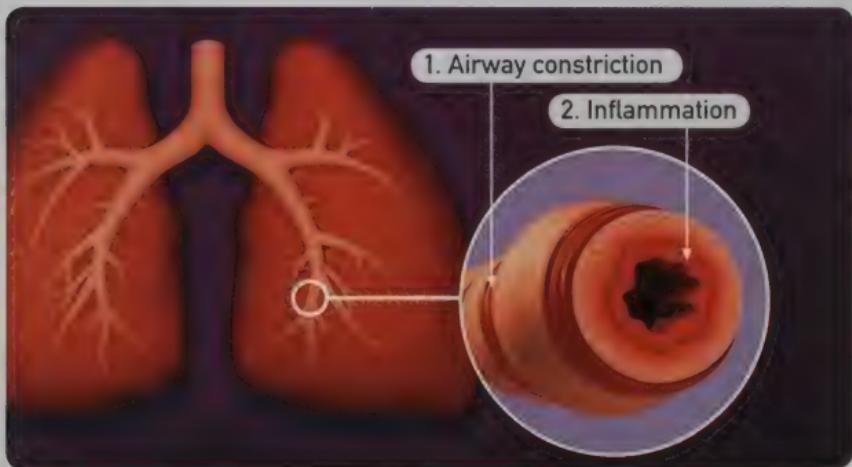
It's too early to fully gauge what impact John Edwards' departure will have on the Democratic race. His voters may well favor Clinton over Obama. But his superdelegates are already joining the Obama movement. Even before the former North Carolina Senator dropped out of the race on Jan. 30, at least two of his congressional backers had shifted their endorsements to Obama, and more are expected to follow.

Obama has inherited much of former Democratic leader Tom Daschle's political organization—and with it, Daschle, who is one of Obama's most committed campaigners. In arguing that it is time to turn a new page, Daschle says of the Clintons, "I don't know if it's possible to put all that history behind."

What has brought to the fore many of these long-simmering tensions between the Clintons and the senior ranks of the party has been the emergence of Bill Clinton as his wife's chief attack dog against Obama. "This is exactly what the next eight years will look like if she gets elected," fumes a nationally prominent Democrat. Two weeks before Kennedy came out publicly for Obama, Kennedy confronted Bill Clinton about his hardfisted tactics in an angry late-night phone call.

There is a paradox in all this. The Clintons came to Washington as the avatars of a new kind of politics. If the Clintons indeed built the bridge they promised to build to the 21st century, the question now is whether their party wants to see them on the other side of it. ■

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**Important Information about ADVAIR DISKUS.** Prescription ADVAIR won't replace fast-acting inhalers for sudden symptoms and should not be taken more than twice a day. ADVAIR is for people who still have symptoms on another asthma controller, or who need two controllers. ADVAIR contains salmeterol. In patients with asthma, medicines like salmeterol may increase the chance of asthma-related death. So ADVAIR is not for people whose asthma is well controlled on another controller medicine.

Talk to your doctor about the risks and benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR. Do not use ADVAIR with long-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-agonists for any reason. If you are taking ADVAIR, see your doctor if your asthma does not improve or gets worse. Tell your doctor if you have a heart condition or high blood pressure. Some people may experience increased blood pressure, heart rate, or changes in heart rhythm. ADVAIR is for patients 4 years and older. For patients 4 to 11 years old, ADVAIR 100/50 is for those who have asthma symptoms while on an inhaled corticosteroid.

Please see important information about ADVAIR on the next page.



If you don't have prescription coverage and can't afford your medicines, visit [2029.org](http://2029.org), or call 1-888-4PPA-NOW (1-888-477-2669).

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# ADVAIR DISKUS® 100/50, 250/50, 500/50

(Fluticasone propionate 100, 250, 500 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

### What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS®?

In patients with asthma, long-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-agonists, such as salmeterol (one of the medications in ADVAIR®) may increase the chance of death from asthma problems. In a large asthma study, more patients who used salmeterol died from asthma problems compared with patients who did not use salmeterol. So ADVAIR is not for patients whose asthma is well controlled on another asthma controller medicine such as low- to medium-dose inhaled corticosteroids or only need a long-acting inhaler once in a while. Talk with your doctor about the risk and the benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR.

ADVAIR should not be used to treat a severe attack of asthma or chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) requiring emergency medical treatment.

ADVAIR should not be used to relieve sudden symptoms or sudden breathing problems. Always have a fast-acting inhaler with you to treat sudden breathing difficulty. If you do not have a fast-acting inhaler, contact your doctor to have one prescribed for you.

### What is ADVAIR DISKUS®?

There are two medications in ADVAIR. Fluticasone propionate, an inhaled anti-inflammatory belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as corticosteroids, and salmeterol, a long-acting, inhaled bronchodilator belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as beta<sub>2</sub>-agonists. There are 3 strengths of ADVAIR: 100/50, 250/50, 500/50.

### For Asthma:

- ADVAIR is approved for the maintenance treatment of asthma in patients 4 years of age and older. ADVAIR should only be used if your doctor decides that another asthma controller medicine alone does not control your asthma, or that you need 2 asthma controller medications.
- The strength of ADVAIR approved for patients ages 4 to 11 years who experience symptoms on an Inhaled corticosteroid is ADVAIR DISKUS 100/50. All 3 strengths are approved for patients with asthma ages 12 years and older.

### For COPD associated with chronic bronchitis:

ADVAIR 250/50 is the only approved dose for the maintenance treatment of airflow obstruction in patients with COPD associated with chronic bronchitis. The benefit of using ADVAR for longer than 6 months has not been evaluated. The way anti-inflammatories work in the treatment of COPD is not well defined.

### Who should not take ADVAIR DISKUS®?

You should not start ADVAR if your asthma is becoming significantly or rapidly worse, which can be life threatening. Serious respiratory events, including death, have been reported in patients who started taking salmeterol in this situation, although it is not possible to tell whether salmeterol contributed to these events. This may also occur in patients with less severe asthma.

You should not take ADVAR if you have had an allergic reaction to it or any of its components (salmeterol, fluticasone propionate, or lactose). Tell your doctor if you are allergic to ADVAR, any other medications, or food products. If you experience an allergic reaction after taking ADVAR, stop using ADVAR immediately and contact your doctor. Allergic reactions are when you experience one or more of the following: choking, breathing problems; swelling of the face, mouth and/or tongue; rash; hives; itching; or welts on the skin.

### Tell your doctor about the following:

- If you are using your fast-acting inhaler more often or using more doses than you normally do (e.g., 4 or more inhalations of your fast-acting inhaler for 2 or more days in a row or a whole canister of your fast-acting inhaler in 8 weeks' time). It could be a sign that your asthma is getting worse. If this occurs, tell your doctor immediately.
- If you have been using your fast-acting inhaler regularly (e.g., four times a day). Your doctor will tell you to stop the regular use of these medications.
- If your peak flow meter results decrease. Your doctor will tell you the numbers that are right for you.
- If you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after using ADVAR regularly for 1 week.
- If you have been on an oral steroid-like prednisone, and are now using ADVAR. You should be very careful as you may be less likely to need an oral steroid. If you are taking prednisone for the body to recover its ability to work on its own after use of oral steroids, switching from an oral steroid to an inhaled steroid may also trigger a condition previously suppressed by the oral steroid such as allergies, constrictive pericarditis, eye problems, heart complications, and/or feeding of "pre-need" cells or numbers in the arms and legs. Talk to your doctor immediately if you experience any of these symptoms.
- Sometimes patients experience bronchospasm right after taking ADVAR. This condition can be life threatening and if it occurs, you should immediately stop using ADVAR and seek immediate medical attention.
- If you have any type of heart disease such as coronary artery disease, irregular heart beat or high blood pressure. ADVAR should be used with caution. Be sure to talk with your doctor about your condition because salmeterol, one of the components of ADVAR, may affect the heart by increasing heart rate and blood pressure. It may cause symptoms such as heart fluttering, chest pain, rapid heart rate, tremor, or nervousness.
- If you have seizures, overactive thyroid gland, liver problems, or are sensitive to certain medications such as breathing. If your breathing problem get worse over time or if your fast-acting inhaler does not work as well for you while using ADVAR, if your breathing problems worsen quickly, get emergency medical care.
- If you have been exposed to or currently infected with or need to take immunosuppressive medications for a medical problem. Patients taking immunosuppressive medications are more likely to get infections than healthy individuals. ADVAR contains a corticosteroid (fluticasone propionate) which may weaken the immune system. Infections, like chickenpox and measles, for example, can be very serious and even fatal in susceptible patients using corticosteroids.

### How should I take ADVAIR DISKUS®?

ADVAIR should be used: 1 inhalation, twice a day (morning and evening). ADVAR should never be taken more than 1 inhalation twice a day. The full benefit of taking ADVAR may take 1 week or longer.

If you miss a dose of ADVAR, just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take two doses at one time.

Do not stop using ADVAR unless told to do so by your doctor because your symptoms might get worse.

Do not change or stop any of your medicines used to control or treat your breathing problems. Your doctor will adjust your medicines as needed.

### When using ADVAR, remember:

- Never breathe into or take the DISKUS® apart.
- Always use the DISKUS in a level position.
- After each inhalation, rinse your mouth with water without swallowing.
- Never take more than one DISKUS. Always keep it in a dry place.
- Never take an extra dose, even if you feel you did not receive a dose.
- Discard 1 month after removing from the foil pouch.
- Do not use ADVAR with a spacer device.

Children should use ADVAR with an adult's help as instructed by the child's doctor.

### Can I take ADVAIR DISKUS® with other medications?

Tell your doctor about all the medications you take, including prescription and nonprescription medications, vitamins, and herbal supplements:

If you are taking ADVAR DISKUS, do not use either long-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-agonist-containing medications, such as SENEVENT® DISKUS or Foradil® Aerolizer, for any reason.

If you take ritonavir (an HIV medication), tell your doctor. Ritonavir may interact with ADVAR and could cause serious side effects. The anti-HIV medicines Norvir® Soft Gelatin Capsules, Norvir Oral Suspension, and Kaletra® contain ritonavir.

No formal drug interaction studies have been performed with ADVAR.

In clinical studies, there were no differences in effects on the heart when ADVAR was taken with varying amounts of abubetide. The effect of using ADVAR in patients with asthma while taking more than 9 puffs a day of abubetide has not been studied.

ADVAR should be used with extreme caution during and up to 2 weeks after treatment with monoamine oxidase (MAO) inhibitors or tricyclic antidepressants since these medications can cause ADVAR to have an even greater effect on the circulatory system.

ADVAR should be used with caution in people who are taking ketotifen (an antihistamine medication) or other drugs broken down by the body in a similar way. These medications can cause ADVAR to have greater steroid side effects.

Generally, people with asthma should not take beta-blockers because they counteract the effects of beta<sub>2</sub>-agonists and may also cause severe bronchospasm. However, in some cases, for instance, following a heart attack, selective beta-blockers may still be used if there is no acceptable alternative.

The ECG changes and/or low blood potassium that may occur with some diuretics may be made worse by ADVAR, especially at higher-than-recommended doses. Caution should be used when these drugs are used together.

In clinical studies, there was no difference in side effects when ADVAR was taken with methylyanthines (e.g., aminophylline) or with FLONASE® (fluticasone propionate).

### What are other important safety considerations with ADVAIR DISKUS®?

**Pneumonia:** Lower respiratory tract infections, including pneumonia, have been reported with the use of inhaled corticosteroids, including ADVAR. There was a higher incidence of pneumonia reported in patients with COPD taking ADVAR DISKUS than among those taking salmeterol in a clinical study.

**Osteoporosis:** Long-term use of inhaled corticosteroids may result in bone loss (osteoporosis). Patients who are at risk for increased bone loss (smoke tobacco use, advanced age, inactive lifestyle, poor nutrition, family history of osteoporosis, or long-term use of drugs such as corticosteroids) may have a greater risk with ADVAR. If you have risk factors for bone loss, you should talk to your doctor about ways to reduce your risk and whether you should have your bone density evaluated.

**Glaucoma and cataracts:** Glaucoma. Increased pressure in the eyes, and cataracts have been reported with the use of inhaled steroids, including fluticasone propionate, a medicine contained in ADVAR. Regular eye examinations should be considered if you are taking ADVAR.

**Blood sugar:** Salmeterol may affect blood sugar and/or cause low blood potassium in some patients, which could lead to a side effect like an irregular heart rate. Significant changes in blood sugar and blood potassium were seen infrequently in clinical studies with ADVAR.

**Growth:** Inhaled steroids may cause a reduction in growth velocity in children and adolescents.

**Steroids:** Taking steroids can affect your body's ability to make its own steroid hormones, which are needed during infections and times of stress. To your body, such as an operation. These effects can sometimes be seen with inhaled steroids (but if it is more common with oral steroids), especially when taken at higher-than-recommended doses over a long period of time. In some cases, these effects may be severe. Inhaled steroids often help control symptoms with less side effects than oral steroids.

**Yeast infections:** Patients taking ADVAR may develop yeast infections of the mouth and/or throat ("thrush") that should be treated by your doctor.

**Tuberculosis or other untreated infections:** ADVAR should be used with caution, if at all, in patients with tuberculosis, herpes infections of the eye, or other untreated infections.

### What are the other possible side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS®?

ADVAIR may produce side effects in some patients. In clinical studies, the most common side effects with ADVAIR included:

• Respiratory infections	• Bronchitis	• Musculoskeletal pain
• Throat irritation	• Cough	• Dizziness
• Headache	• Headaches	• Fever
• Sinus infection	• Nasau and vomiting	• Ear, nose, and throat infections
• Yeast infection of the mouth	• Diarrhea	• Nosebleed

Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all the side effects with ADVAIR. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

### What if I am pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or nursing?

Tell your doctor about the benefits and risks of using ADVAR during pregnancy, labor, or if you are nursing. There have been no studies of ADVAR use during pregnancy or in nursing women. Salmeterol is known to interfere with labor contractions. It is not known whether ADVAR is excreted in breast milk, but other corticosteroids have been detected in human breast milk. Fluticasone propionate like other corticosteroids, has been associated with birth defects in animals (e.g., cleft palate and fetal death). Salmeterol showed no effect on fertility in rats at 180 times the maximum recommended daily dose.

### What other important tests were conducted with ADVAR?

There is no evidence of enhanced toxicity with ADVAR compared with the components administered separately. In animal studies with doses much higher than those used in humans, salmeterol was associated with uterine tumors. Your healthcare professional can tell you more about how drugs are tested on animals and what the results of these tests may mean to your safety.

### For more information on ADVAIR DISKUS®

This page is only a brief summary of important information about ADVAIR DISKUS. For more information, talk to your doctor. You can also visit [www.ADVAr.com](http://www.ADVAr.com) or call 1-888-825-5249. Patients receiving ADVAIR DISKUS should read the medication guide provided by the pharmacist with the prescription.

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GlaxoSmithKline  
Research Triangle Park, NC 27709  
A00-1P1 June 2007

Peter Beinart

# The Bloomberg Delusion

There's room in the 2008 campaign for a successful third-party candidate. But the mayor of New York City isn't it



**MICHAEL BLOOMBERG** is Felipe Lopez. Lopez, you may (or may not) remember, was one of the most hyped high school basketball stars ever. The 6-ft. 5-in. (1.96 m) guard from the Bronx graced the cover of *Sports Illustrated* before even playing a college game. But at St. John's, he proved a bust. Lopez briefly made the pros, but he had little impact. Last season he played for the CBA's Albany Patroons.

Lopez's fame owed less to his talent than to his location: New York City. If you can make it there, the self-obsessed Big Apple media often assume, you can make it anywhere. And now they're saying it about Michael Bloomberg, another solid local performer who wouldn't get a second look if he hailed from Tampa Bay. Bloomberg has made the covers of both *TIME* and *Newsweek*, the latter promising that his would be "one of the most significant third-party bids for the White House in American history." "He will not run to be a spoiler," one of his aides told the *New York Times*. That's good, since everything we know about third-party candidates suggests that for Bloomberg, even spoiler is an impossible dream.

**The last third-party candidate who got anywhere near the presidency was Theodore Roosevelt in 1912, and he had been President before. Since then, four third-party candidates have gotten more than 5% of the vote. And each of them had something Bloomberg lacks: a popular issue that the major parties wouldn't touch.** In 1924, the GOP ran Calvin Coolidge, the most conservative President of the 20th century, and the most boring. But his Democratic opponent, John W. Davis, was pretty conservative too. And so Robert La Follette,

the only progressive in the race, won 17% of the vote. In 1968, the Democrats were pro-civil rights, and the Republicans were still largely persona non grata below the Mason-Dixon Line. So George Wallace, running against black rioters and white hippies, won five Southern states.

Wallace's slogan was "There's not a dime's worth of difference between the Democrat and Republican parties," which is pretty much what Ross Perot said in 1992. And on the issues Perot took up—



**White House or bust?** To win, Bloomberg would need a popular issue ignored by the major parties

the budget deficit and NAFTA—he had a point. With Americans angry about the economy and angry at Washington, Perot made NAFTA—which both George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton supported—a symbol of the public's discontent. Perot won 19% of the vote, mostly among downscale Republicans and independents who had backed Reagan during the cold war but by then feared Mexico almost as much as they had feared the U.S.S.R.

The third-party candidate with the best chance in 2008 would be a saner Perot. As in 1992, the GOP coalition is cracking along class lines. Many working-class Republicans and independents who backed George W. Bush because he was tough on al-Qaeda now want a President who is tough on globalization. Illegal

immigration has supplanted terrorism on the list of concerns for the American right. And at the party's grass roots, voters are turning hard against free trade. Last fall a *Wall Street Journal* poll found that nearly twice as many Republicans think trade deals hurt as think they help.

John McCain is too pro-immigration for these latter-day Perotistas. And Mitt Romney is too hedge fund. If either of them won the Republican nomination, a souped-up Perot could win over downscale Republicans who like Mike Huckabee's anti-corporate populism. And he might pick up a few John Edwards supporters as well—white male union types who think Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama are too pro-immigration and too *NPR*.

**There's a name for this new-model Perot: Lou Dobbs, CNN's red-faced, loudmouthed scourge of lawbreaking immigrants and job-shipping CEOs. Bloomberg, by contrast, would be the most pro-immigration, pro-free trade, pro-Wall Street candidate in the race. The third-party candidate he would most resemble is John Anderson, the fiscally responsible, culturally liberal Republican who ran as an Independent in 1980. Anderson won 7% of the vote, mostly among**

the young, educated and secular. But to day those people are partisan Democrats. After Ralph Nader, there's simply no way that liberals are going to take a flyer on a candidate like Bloomberg, who is almost ideologically identical to their nominee but lacks a *D* next to his name.

Bloomberg has money, but American politics is littered with millionaires who couldn't translate their cash into votes. And he has competence, but competence works only when it's connected to a compelling ideological vision. Ask Michael Dukakis.

More than 50 years ago, the historian Richard Hofstadter compared third parties to bees. They inject a new perspective into the political mainstream, and then they die. If Michael Bloomberg runs for President, he'll skip the first step.

**Everything we know about third-party candidates suggests that for Bloomberg, even spoiler is an impossible dream**

# Lady of the House

Gucci designer Frida Giannini has softened the overtly sexual image of the Italian luxury brand, winning the confidence of consumers but not critics

BY KRISTINA ZIMBALIST

**REGIME CHANGES IN FASHION HAVE A** few things in common with presidential campaigns: both feature bitter rivalries, professional jealousy and personal attacks, and both involve a lot of money. That's why it's been particularly hard for designer Frida Giannini, 35, to win the vote of her fashion constituents for the three years that she has been overseeing the creative direction of Gucci, the \$3.1 billion (2.1 billion euro) apparel, fragrance and accessories juggernaut. Compared with her predecessor, the fashion rock star Tom Ford, Giannini cuts a low profile, and critics have called her runway shows everything from "hard to warm to" to "pedestrian." What most infuriates the front-row naysayers, of course, is that Giannini's style is working: in 2005 and 2006, Gucci

The waiflike Giannini has a deep voice and feline self-assurance. Her appointment to the top spot in 2005 came with an announcement of extreme corporate confidence that belied her scant experience: the brand aimed to double revenues through 2011. True, she was young, female and European and therefore uniquely in touch with her target customer. But Gucci's execs also knew that Giannini was a genius with handbags—fashion's red-hot commodity. She was, after all, one of the designers who helped create Fendi's blockbuster baguette, the tiny bag that ignited the accessories frenzy that continues to drive luxury's bottom line.

At Gucci, Giannini worked her magic with the Flora print, an iconic design created as a scarf for Grace Kelly in 1966. As Ford was churning out the label's black-on-black nightclub vibe, Giannini splashed the happy flowers onto Gucci's bags. "There were so many people who said, 'Maybe it's too pretty for Gucci.' But to me, it was such an important design. So light in a way, but with a good energy," Giannini says. The Flora became one of the most successful products in Gucci history, a fact not lost on Gucci management or industry analysts.

Handbags have a 30% to 40% margin, while apparel has only 15% to 20%, which is why luxury brands use the runway to leverage their image and then optimize profitability with leather goods. In Gucci's case, leather goods make up more than 50% of profits, the majority of those from handbags. Financially, the strategy is working. "They are performing extremely well, despite the slowdown of the general consumer market," says luxury analyst Yasuhiro Yamaguchi of UBS in London. "Coach, Tiffany and Burberry are all saying they've started to see slowdown, but Gucci is resisting the cyclical downturn and delivering double-digit growth."

Giannini's bigger challenge has been to try to reposition Gucci's clothing lines. With her first collection, she followed her

devil-may-care instincts and showed sophisticated and feminine 1940s-inspired tea dresses, an abrupt move away from Ford's overt sexuality. Since then, some retailers felt the clothing lacked luster. "It's never an easy thing, following a strong designer at a brand that has a strong identity," says Ann Stordahl, executive vice president of women's apparel at Neiman Marcus. "But I think Frida has worked to add a feminine aspect to the Gucci brand. She's had a lot of emphasis on color and print. We've actually been a little surprised that the customer has responded."

For Giannini, emphasizing wearable over sexual was part of the plan. "Women of my generation have a real life," she says. "They need to work. They have personal lives. I want to design something for them, something personal, something that comes from the brain."

Giannini, who graduated from Rome's Fashion Academy, is often described by co-workers as a controlling, somewhat fiery workaholic, although to the outside world she maintains a guarded façade. Glimpses into her design rooms are forbidden, as are previews of upcoming collections. And a few subjects do ignite her rumored tartness. One obvious nerve is the idea that her clothes lack a strong fashion message. "It's a very stupid comment," she retorts. "I never approach a collection thinking it needs to be commercial. But if my ideas are so desirable that people want to buy them, to me, the collection is a success."

Her affinity for strong women shows up in her office (the walls are lined with photographs of '60s icons like Sofia Loren dressed in Gucci) and in her choice of collaborators. She asked Madonna to co-host Gucci's Feb. 6 celebration of its new Fifth Avenue flagship, the biggest in the world. The event will unveil a new design for the label's stores, which feature giant windows to let the sun in. Giannini is working to make sure it keeps shining on Gucci too.

**'Women of my generation have a real life. I want to design something for them, something personal, something that comes from the brain.'**

—FRIDA GIANNINI, GUCCI DESIGNER

reported 18.4% and 16.8% growth, respectively. In 2007, it reported an 11% increase.

More success for the Gucci brand had seemed unimaginable when Ford stepped down as creative director four years ago. Ford transformed the posh but petrified label into a global megabrand, resurrecting the company to the tune of \$1.8 billion (from \$500 million) and ushering in an era of stone-cold sexiness. Gucci's image, not to mention its stock price, soared. But in late 2004, Ford left the company abruptly after clashing with management. The Gucci Group hired three designers to replace him; two seasons later, the then 33-year-old Giannini—who had been plucked from Fendi by Ford in 2002—was the only one left standing.





**Cold storage** An artist's image of the soon-to-be-completed seed vault

SCIENCE

# The Farmers' Bank

If the world loses its seeds, our food supply could follow. A new vault on a remote Arctic island may represent our last line of agricultural defense

BY BRYAN WALSH

**I**T'S A MAXIM THAT'S AS true for farming as it is for your home PC: always back up your data. In agriculture, data take the form of seeds, and farmers have been saving seed varieties for millennia. If disaster struck and an entire crop were lost, a cache of seeds could mean the difference between survival and starvation.

We still save seeds today, mostly in national seed banks that often specialize in native crops: pistachios in Iran, rice in the Philippines. When a disaster like the Irish potato blight of the 1840s hits, scientists can search the seed bank for an old variety that might prove resistant. Since pests and pathogens are constantly evolving, a well-stocked seed bank "is our

best line of defense," says Geoff Hawtin, director-general of the International Center for Tropical Agriculture in Colombia.

But that defense is in peril. Often, the seed banks with the richest collections are located in unstable countries that don't take care of them. When Afghanistan's seed bank was looted during the Taliban's rule, rare varieties of walnuts, cherries and apricots were lost. Cary Fowler, executive director of the Global Crop Diversity Trust, an agricultural NGO, estimates that as many as half the seed banks in the developing world may be at risk.

To ensure that an agricultural doomsday never comes, Fowler and his colleagues have organized the Svalbard Global Seed Vault, an international seed bank built into a mountain on a Norwegian island in the Arctic. A Fort Knox for seeds, the vault will be a backup for the backups and will eventually be expanded to include genetic samples of every crop on the planet. The first shipments, from more than 36 African nations, arrived at the end of January, and there will

BEHAVIOR

## How Happy Is Happy Enough?

If the self-help section of your local bookstore has anything to say about it, there's a lot you can do to be happier. There's the scientific approach, the Dalai Lama's guide, even a happiness hypothesis. But is there such a thing as too happy? A new study published in the journal *Perspectives on Psychological Science* suggests that ultimate bliss may not be the ultimate good.

A team of researchers from three universities examined data from the World Values Survey along with the behaviors of 193 volunteers and found that the happiest people weren't necessarily the best off. The metric for this finding was a 10-point life-satisfaction scale. Most respondents ranked themselves as moderately happy. The higher they scored on the scale, the happier they were and the more successful they were likely to be. But that held true only until they hit the top. People who scored a perfect 10 tended to earn less money than slightly less happy folks, and among college students, the 10s had slightly lower grade-point averages and tended to miss more classes than 9s or 8s.

"For some reason, we think we should expect to be superhappy," says Ed Diener, a psychology professor at the

be room for as many as 4.5 million samples once the facility opens Feb. 26. The specimens will be kept very dry at around 0°F. Properly stored, some seeds can last thousands of years; even if the facility lost power, the seeds are likely to remain viable in the Arctic climate. The cost of construction—mostly borne by the Norwegian government—is less than \$9 million. "If you think of it as an insurance policy for the world, you can't beat the value," says Fowler.

The need for the vault

# Organ Transplants Without the Drugs

BY ALICE PARK

**T**HEY ARE FREQUENTLY CALLED the gift of life, but organ transplants have always been plagued by a painful irony: as desperately as an ailing body needs a healthy organ to replace a faltering one, it often ends up rejecting the priceless replacement part. Decades of research have led to improved drugs to reduce this reaction, but these agents have to be taken for a lifetime and are often difficult to tolerate, leading to higher risks of both infection and cancer.

In an intriguing but small study published in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, however, doctors at Massachusetts General Hospital and New York Presbyterian Hospital may have finally come up with an end run around organ rejection. They report on four kidney-transplant patients who were able to wean themselves off powerful antirejection drugs within a year of their transplants (a fifth rejected his kidney). Even more exciting is the fact that while the organ donors in the study were family members of the recipients, they were not perfect tissue matches.

The key, says Dr. David Sachs, a surgeon at Mass General and Harvard who led the study, is to prepare a patient's immune system well before the surgery—or, to be more exact, to deplete the immune system's T cells, which normally patrol the body looking for foreign invaders like bacteria, viruses and tissues from outside donors. Several days before the transplant surgery, Sachs' team used drugs that target and eliminate these cells to wipe the immune slate clean. Then the team transplanted the kidney along with bone marrow cells that had been harvested from the patients before their immune cells were eliminated. What happened next was surprising: the bone marrow rebuilt the immune system but this time as a chimera—a hybrid of both the donated organ's cells and the body's own. The donated organ could then be accepted instead of rejected.

"It retrains the immune system, fooling it into thinking that the donor tissue is now part of the self," says Sachs. One patient was able to stop taking antirejection drugs as early as nine months after his surgery—though not without some discomfort as the body adjusted. "There is no question that during the initial phase, the patient has a lot more difficult time. But they trade that difficulty with what is beginning to look like lifelong suppression [of rejection]," says Sachs.

More perplexing to the team was the fact

that the chimeric state is not permanent, with the immune system eventually returning to its original state. Yet the patients have nonetheless continued to tolerate their donated kidneys for almost five years. Why? Sachs believes that once the immune system is trained to accept the donated organ, sentry cells protect the organ from being recognized as foreign. The transplanted kidney exists in an immune bubble, guarded from the T cells that could still destroy it.

If that's the case, say transplant surgeons, it might even be possible in coming

University of Illinois and one of the study's authors. "But we need negative emotions."

The slight unease that comes with being moderately happy, Diener explains, means you're likelier to question the way things are—and to try to change it. That could mean finding a new career or doing better at school. "It's probably desirable to feel dissatisfaction appropriately," he says. A bit of fretting can pay health dividends too. If you worry just a little, you're likelier to be more vigilant about something as simple as sunscreen and protect yourself accordingly. As long as you're not too low on the satisfaction scale, it appears you should just be happy with how happy you are.

—BY KATE STINCHFIELD

grows even greater as industrial agriculture continues to narrow the genetic diversity of plants, focusing on select, high-producing crop varieties. Global warming will also create demand for a stockpile of seeds that may not be suited to today's growing conditions but could be just right for tomorrow's. "We'll need crop varieties for hotter, drier, wetter and colder climates," says Fowler. Sometime in the future, the vault of last resort could end up more like an ATM.



years to look outside our species for much needed organs. Once the human immune system can be trained to safely accept foreign tissue, then these so-called xenotransplants, from pigs or primates, could provide a welcome solution to the organ shortages that still put 98,000 patients in the U.S. each year on waiting lists.

**'The immune system is fooled into thinking that the donor tissue is now part of the self.'**

—DR. DAVID SACHS, SURGEON,  
MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL

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# Life

LIVING FOOD TECHNOLOGY

## LIVING

### Bye Bye, Love.

Divorce is sad. But some folks are finding humor—and profit—in it

BY TIFFANY SHARPLES

WHEN ANGIE SCHMIDT'S SEVEN-YEAR MARRIAGE ended, there wasn't much to laugh about. But what she craved was a little levity. "There was nothing out there that really made people laugh at themselves and laugh at breakups," she says. "I thought, Wouldn't it be great to create a business that does this?" Last September she started an online store dedicated to lightening the

**Not so happily ever after**  
*To meet the growing demand for divorce cakes, pastry chefs are increasingly adding cheeky designs like this one to their repertoires*



The appeal of the meal-assembly approach isn't that it saves you time; it's that it saves you having to think  
JOEL STEIN, FOOD, PAGE 64

mood—[smashingkatie.com](http://smashingkatie.com), named after “the other woman.” By the holidays, the site was flooded with orders.

The annual number of divorces has dropped nearly a third since the early 1980s, to 16.4 for every 1,000 married women age 15 and over, but 40% to 50% of first marriages still break up. In the spirit of American ingenuity that can find a way to make a buck out of even the worst situations, a cottage industry has sprung up to help people cope with and often celebrate this passage from one part of their lives to the next. “Once divorce gets so common, the human approach is to treat it like another aspect of life,” says sociologist David Popenoe, co-director of the National Marriage Project at Rutgers.

## ‘There was nothing out there that really made people laugh at themselves and laugh at breakups.’

—ANGIE SCHMIDT,  
SMASHINGKATIE.COM

Business for products aimed at the newly divorced, from greeting cards and post-breakup getaway packages to custom-made cakes and joke gifts like wedding ring cofins, is booming. New Orleans resident Reneé Savant bought a hearse, thinking she would rent it out for over-the-hill-birthday celebrations. But since she began her service last October, the hottest demand has come from clients who want to ride

around as they and friends celebrate the death of their marriages. “I would never in a million years have thought the fad would be divorce parties,” says Savant.

No party is really complete without a cake, and increasingly, bakers are being asked to come up with fanciful designs that give new meaning to the pun “just desserts.” Joan Spitzer, co-owner of Cake Divas in Los Angeles, says she was used to baking cakes for “people’s second, third and even fourth weddings” but has recently been getting orders for confections to mark the end of marriages as well. The designs feature scenarios like a bride kicking her former groom down the tiers of the cake. At Sprinkles Custom Cakes in Winter Park, Fla., Larry Bach has been getting requests for his upside-down wedding cake with the bride or groom’s legs sticking out at the bottom as if the cake had crashed down on the figure à la the Wicked Witch of the East.

Like Schmidt, many of the divorce entrepreneurs are people who have gone through the experience themselves. After Scott Schmeizer, an executive with a housewares firm based on Long Island, N.Y., got divorced in 2004, he worked with a designer to manufacture a knife rack that looks like a human figure. He called it the Ex. “It was cathartic,” he says. Others apparently think so too; it now comes in six different colors, retails for \$120 and is one of the firm’s top sellers. Schmidt’s online break-up boutique sells mugs that say things like *BOO FRICKIN’ HOO* and books like *How to Tell If Your Boyfriend Is the Antichrist*. “Why take life so seriously?” she asks.

Most separation-inspired items—the Ex, ex-wife toilet paper, ex-boyfriend voodoo dolls—may be intentionally designed to evoke laughter from the otherwise painful situation of a breakup. “They’re filling a need,” says Princeton anthropologist John Borneman. But he and other experts worry that the surge of products is symptomatic of an increasingly fickle investment in marriage. “A classic case where market intervention is sapping the moral fiber of a society,” Popenoe says.

Marriage experts say it’s too soon to know how these new rites will affect future relationships. “We’ll have to wait and see whether such things help you find a new mate sooner, and once you do, if you’re going to stay with that person as you didn’t in the first round,” Popenoe says.

Throwing a divorce party turned out to be just the right thing for Lesley Rogers, whose five-year marriage ended in 2006. Rogers, a communications director in Seattle, met her current boyfriend that night when another friend brought him to the celebration.

## When Diamonds Aren’t Forever

*The growing list of products for people looking to put a positive, and even amusing, spin on the pain of a breakup range from funny greeting cards and post-divorce getaway packages to more tongue-in-cheek items such as these*





**How It Works** Karen Calhoun preps her meal according to a recipe at the Let's Eat! location in Winter Park, Fla., far left. At home, left, she serves crab cakes, beef medallions, asparagus and mashed potatoes to her kids

## FOOD

# Outsourcing Home Cooking.

Too busy to make dinner? Meal-assembly kitchens may be the answer. Our man tests them

BY JOEL STEIN

**THERE WAS A TIME WHEN EVERYONE** knew what cooking meant. You chopped food into smaller pieces, mixed them together, added seasoning and heated the whole thing up. Then things got confusing. Was dropping frozen peas in a pot cooking? Was combining Campbell's cream of mushroom soup, Bumble Bee tuna and Ritz crackers cooking? Heating a Hungry Man?

Right now I have no idea if I'm cooking. I'm standing at a Dream Dinners location in Burbank, Calif., next to a lot of moms. Following a posted recipe, we're scooping cubes of frozen, dry-looking chicken into a Ziploc bag, adding measuring cups full of chopped frozen vegetables, liquid smoke, minced garlic and barbecue sauce. We're making a week's worth of these meals, putting Ziploc bags of meat and Ziploc bags of vegetables and Ziploc bags of seasonings inside bigger Ziploc bags to protect the smaller Ziploc bags. I deeply suspect that the meals at Dream Dinners were invented by a major shareholder of the corporation that owns Ziploc.

The idea for applying Henry Ford assembly-line techniques to home cooking began in 1995, when Dream Dinners co-founder Stephanie Allen's catering business in Snohomish, Wash., became so busy, she didn't have time to cook for her

own family. So she and a friend started getting together one Saturday a month to prepare a bunch of meals, shoving them in the freezer and later heating them up one night at a time. After seven years of giving tips to other moms who heard about the system, Allen sent an e-mail inviting friends to her catering kitchen. "I told them that we'll make this a girls' night out once a month," she said. "I'll bring the wine and the music, and [we'll] get a chore done."

Now there are 278 Dream Dinners locations and some 60 other meal-assembly kitchen chains serving about 350,000 customers a month, each of whom typically packs an ice chest of 12 meals in little more

### THE LOWDOWN

#### What You Get

*Here's what we found after sampling the Chicken Mirabella from Dream Dinners:*

**Ingredients** Skinless, boneless chicken breasts; white wine; olive oil; red wine vinegar; prunes; green olives; capers; garlic; brown sugar; spices

**Preparation time** 5 min. in the store; 50 min. in the oven at home

**Review** Sweet, sticky, soft and really satisfying

**Cost** \$13.56 for three servings

than an hour. In fact, there are so many of these places that a website, [mealassembly.net](http://mealassembly.net), helps you find the one closest to your home, whether that's in Seattle, Sydney, Singapore or Saskatoon. The industry got so crowded last year that some stores are closing, and many—like Super Suppers—are selling premade frozen meals, at no extra charge; some are even starting to deliver. Others are going upscale: Colorado's Organic Dish, which focuses on local ingredients, has entrées such as Halibut en Papillote.

I got meals at Super Suppers, Dream Dinners and Let's Eat!, the latter a well-reviewed East Coast chain that uses fresh herbs and serves complimentary mimosas. And I was surprised that while these meals tasted nothing like anything I'd ever make or order at a restaurant, they were mostly pretty good. I'd have Dream Dinners' rich Steak Gorgonzola again, or that big, gloppy, messy, delicious dish of prunes, olives and capers they call Chicken Mirabella.

The other nice thing was the price. I learned that you can clip as many coupons as you want, but you can never make a dinner as cheaply as these kitchens can. I got nine entrées, each of which is supposed to serve three, and two desserts from Dream Dinners for \$146.87—under \$5 a serving. I also learned that my wife and I eat about two servings each.

Strangely, though, the assembly-line system didn't actually save me time, compared with cooking dinner myself. The entrées don't come with sides, just suggestions for them, so I found myself chopping bacon, shallots and garlic for Brussels sprouts while stirring the pulled pork—a dish that usually takes me five minutes to prep from scratch and comes out much better.

But the appeal of the meal-assembly approach isn't that it saves you time; it's that it saves you having to think. That's what the moms at Dream Dinners liked: they didn't have to worry about what was for dinner when they came home from work. Some of them confessed they didn't tell their families that they didn't "make" dinner, because, maybe, kind of, they sort of did. Unlike the old frozen dinner, designed to be consumed with multitasking efficiency while watching television, the new one—with its dirty pots and table setting—is trying to freeze something else: our family life. And maybe, kind of, sort of, that's what cooking is about. ■

Lev Grossman

# Girl Meets Game

I'm a lifelong gamer and proud of it. But when my 3-year-old started playing, I started wondering: Is she ready?

**I** LOVE VIDEO GAMES. I PLAYED MY FIRST one—it was *Pong*—when I was 7. I feel lucky to be part of the first generation of gamers. I also get to be a first-generation-gamer parent; my parents regarded games with a primitive, chimp-like suspicion, but my daughter Lily will have a parent who understands them and plays alongside her. A cool parent.

But when Lily played her first game a few weeks ago, at the age of 3, I found myself wondering something I never thought I would wonder: How cool a parent should I be? Lily has always been interested in the Web. A couple of weeks ago, we found a Flash game on a *Teletubbies* site involving five brown bunnies that need to be placed in their correct bunny-shaped holes. To my amazement, Lily shooed my hands away from the track

pad and started slowly nudging bunnies toward burrows. When the fifth bunny hit home—and an unseen Tinky Winky shouted, "Yaaaaay!"—every neuron in my daughter's brain seemed to fire at once. Her skull practically glowed. She climbed off the chair and did a dance. Then she climbed back up onto the chair and said, "Daddy? You can go now."

My feelings about this are conflicted. I'm not disappointed that Lily is learning to entertain herself, because I've been entertaining her for 3½ years and could use a break in which to perform some basic personal hygiene. All the same, I'm confused about what games mean to a person that tiny. After all, video games didn't really exist when I was 3.

The most obvious questions are the easiest. Because I'm not psychotic, I would

never allow my daughter to play—or see or know about—any game involving violence. When she plays the bunny game, Lily is learning about computers and refining her hand-eye coordination. So that's all good, right? Just to make sure, I called Susan Gregory Thomas, author of *Buy Buy Baby*, a scorching investigative study of how corporations target under-age consumers. She also happens to be the most technologically aware mom I know. Or, as I now call her, Susie Joykiller.

Hand-eye coordination? Maybe. But she pointed out that kids that age—with their delicate, still developing carpal tunnels—are especially vulnerable to repetitive stress injury. O.K., but here's something else: Lily gets frustrated easily, and the game rewards her for sticking with a problem till she solves it. "Maybe she could get the same kind of thing from trying to make a cake?" Thomas asked. "There are lots of other things to solve that have a much richer protocol." I get it: that's what the real world is for.

There is a paucity of quality clinical data on little children and games, and Thomas explains that video games often depend on analogies and symbols that kids may not understand in the way we think they do. "Very young children are astonishingly concrete thinkers. If you look at a screen and understand that everything that happens on a computer is a metaphor for something real in life, it becomes very, very murky as to what they're actually getting out of this." There are also troubling commercial aspects to a lot of games for preschoolers: they're basically ads for branded characters like Dora the Explorer and Ariel the mermaid. And Thomas points out—in the nicest way possible—how pathetic it is that I want people to think I'm a cool dad.

There's a lot more to think about than I thought there was. I'm still happy that Lily likes games, but I've resolved to limit her playing time, and I'm not going to let her play alone, personal hygiene be damned. She and I won't always be able to play games together, after all; far too soon she'll be far too cool to hang out with me. But for now, maybe it's a good idea for Daddy to stick around.

## Know Technology?

To read more by Lev Grossman, go to *Nerd World* at [time.com/nerdworld](http://time.com/nerdworld)



## Child's Play The best websites for tiny gamers

### WHAT IT OFFERS ...

### AND WHY WE LIKE IT

#### TELETUBBIES

[bbc.co.uk/cbeebies/teletubbies](http://bbc.co.uk/cbeebies/teletubbies)

Gentle, charming animated games featuring you-know-who

They're funny, educational and well designed for little hands. They reward success but don't punish failure

#### PBS KIDS

[pbskids.org](http://pbskids.org)

Simple games starring the Sesame Street gang, Barney and others

A bright, friendly site with tons of options—maybe too many. But like it or not, kids love those characters

#### POISSON ROUGE

[poissonrouge.com](http://poissonrouge.com)

Quirky, elegant, dreamlike amusements



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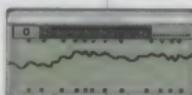
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This medical breakthrough actually reverses *ergotropic tuning*, the harmful process that causes your nerves to respond faster and more strongly to stress; making you feel it more easily, more quickly, more intensely.

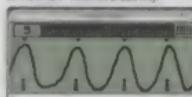
## Medical Discovery Leads to Breakthrough in Reducing Stress.

Medical researchers now know that the harmful effects of *ergotropic tuning* are intricately connected to the biological mechanisms of breathing. More importantly, they learned that you can actually regulate the stress-producing activity of this system by regulating this basic bodily function.

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"You feel so relaxed yet focused."



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# Heart Health

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## Controlling Cholesterol

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## Most Heart Disease Is Preventable

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## Exercise: Plan Or No Plan?

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## Taking Control Of Blood Pressure

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## Caring For The Caregiver

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## Diabetes And Heart Disease

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## Eating With Your Heart In Mind

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## Controlling Cholesterol

By Raymond Gibbons, M.D.

We know that it would be much better to prevent heart disease than to treat it after a heart attack or stroke has occurred. That's why results of a recent study came as such good news.

### Here's The Welcome News

Between 1980 and 2000, the age-adjusted death rate for heart disease in our country fell by approximately half, resulting in nearly 342,000 fewer deaths in 2000. The researchers found that 24 percent of this decrease was due to reductions in cholesterol levels. So that's 85,000 lives saved because Americans became more physically active and limited their consumption of saturated fats, trans fats and cholesterol. Another 68,000 lives were saved because Americans managed to bring their blood pressure to where it should be. These two measures alone accounted for about half the reduction in deaths.

### There's More

That's not the whole story, however. An additional group of people survived because their cholesterol and high blood pressure were treated with medication. So if you add all the numbers, it turns out that approximately two-thirds of the lives

that were saved were due to better control and treatment of cholesterol and high blood pressure.

Ironically, we spend a large number of health care dollars treating people who have a disease that need not have developed in the first place.

### Listen Up

Sometimes people become confused by all the different health advice they hear, and they throw up their hands saying that the advice will be different tomorrow. But the scientific basis for recommending sufficient physical activity and a healthy diet rich in fruits and vegetables with limited saturated fat and cholesterol is not theoretical. It won't be different tomorrow. This advice has proven benefits.

### Dealing With Extra Weight

Carrying around too much weight makes controlling cholesterol more difficult and can set you up for developing diabetes. Shedding the 40 or 50 or 60 pounds that will bring you to an ideal weight is daunting. However, losing 10 pounds is far easier; this will help reduce cholesterol levels and reduce your risk for developing diabetes by as much as half.

Sometimes diet and lifestyle aren't enough. You may have to take a statin drug to bring down

### Preventing Heart Disease Is Preferable To Treating It

your cholesterol even more. Even so, a healthy diet and weight loss will still have many benefits.

### A Final Word

Controlling cholesterol is one part of a much broader health picture. Just as your hip bone's connected to your thigh bone, cholesterol, blood pressure, weight and physical activity all work together to keep you healthy and protect you from heart disease and stroke.

### Cholesterol Myths

**Myth:** All fats raise LDL (bad) cholesterol.

**Fact:** Only saturated fats and trans fats raise LDL cholesterol.

**Myth:** Olive oil, canola oil and avocados contain large amounts of saturated fats.

**Fact:** All are rich in monounsaturated fat, the kind that may help lower cholesterol. But all fat is high in calories, so go easy.

**Myth:** Margarine has fewer calories than butter.

**Fact:** A tablespoon of butter and a tablespoon of stick margarine both contain approximately 100 calories.

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**Raymond Gibbons, M.D.**, is the immediate Past President of the American Heart Association and Professor of Medicine at the Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minnesota.

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## Help Yourself To A Healthy Heart

By Sidney C. Smith Jr., M.D.

**Fortunately, most heart disease is preventable.** It's never too late to start taking care of your heart by providing it with sufficient exercise, feeding it well and giving tobacco the cold shoulder.

### Step Out

With age, artery walls tend to become rigid and thickened with buildups of cholesterol-laden plaques, a process called atherosclerosis. We've come to understand that daily physical activity counters this trend and helps keep arteries supple, relaxed and healthy.

Aim for half an hour of physical activity at least five, but ideally seven, days a week. You don't need a gym. Add more steps to your daily routine by leaving the car at home or taking a brisk walk with a friend. You can catch up on news as well as benefit your heart.

### Eat Smart

You know the drill: Cut down on saturated and trans fats, cholesterol and sodium, and increase the number of servings of fruits, vegetables and whole-grain, high-fiber foods; use fat-free and low-fat dairy products and serve small portions (about four to six ounces) of poultry or lean meat; and eat fish twice a week. A trick I've found

useful is to make a fist and use that to gauge a serving size of meat.

Also, cast an eye on how much you eat. No matter how healthy the food, if you eat too much you'll gain weight. Push away from the table when you're still a little hungry.

### Smoking

Don't!

### Promising New Approaches

Two out of three heart attacks occur as a result of plaque formations that don't cause pain and cannot be identified with an exercise electrocardiogram. These dangerous plaques can split open unexpectedly, form a clot and block an artery without warning. Along with fat and cholesterol, calcium is a component of plaque. An imaging technology called a coronary calcium scan may provide advanced notice by showing the amount of calcium present in the arteries.

There's also interest in a blood test that measures C-reactive protein (CRP), a marker for inflammation. High CRP levels may be associated with an increased risk of heart attack.

Currently, we don't recommend either test for routine screening, although they may be useful in cases where additional information would help us make better-informed treatment decisions.

**You Can Dramatically Reduce Your Chances Of Developing Heart Disease By Making A Few Simple Changes**

There's also been growing interest in how inflammation in other parts of the body contributes to heart disease. We know, for example, that people who have periodontal gum disease have a higher incidence of heart problems. Will good dental hygiene cut the risk of heart disease? We'll have to wait for research to provide the answers.

### A Final Word

Make it a point to be physically active, eat wisely and don't smoke. Keep your blood pressure and cholesterol levels within normal limits and maintain a healthy weight. Not only will you reduce your chances of developing heart disease, you'll feel terrific!

**Sidney C. Smith Jr., M.D.** is a Past President of the American Heart Association and Professor of Medicine at the University of North Carolina School of Medicine in Chapel Hill.

### Now I Know My ABCs

The best defense against heart disease is in your hands. Although you can't control your age, your family history or your sex, the risk factors you can modify outnumber those you can't.

To learn the ABCs of keeping your heart healthy, log on to [www.americanheart.org](http://www.americanheart.org).



Gary Basler/Author Images

## Get Moving

### Living A Sedentary Life Is Hazardous To Your Heart

By Barry A. Franklin, Ph.D.

**Physical activity is good for your heart. Simply put, if you exercise regularly, you cut your risk of heart disease or stroke in half; if you're inactive, you double your risk.**

#### Day By Day

You need at least 30 minutes of moderate-intensity exercise five days each week or 20 minutes of vigorous physical activity three days each week. Brisk walking is considered moderate, jogging vigorous. You can also combine the two by walking briskly two days a week and jogging two days. (Of course, the exercise police won't come after you if you want to do more.)

If you can't carve a 30-minute chunk from your day, set aside three 10-minute exercise bouts. Surprisingly, recent research suggests that three shorter sessions may be better than one longer one when it comes to weight control.

#### Walking Counts

The majority of previously sedentary people who walk briskly for as little as a mile at a time generally achieve a heart rate sufficient to improve aerobic fitness. If you already walk for exercise, you're probably attaining the same

intensity levels you would in an aerobics class.

Walking can be done at little or no cost, it's readily available, it's associated with fewer muscle or joint injuries than other types of physical activity and, if you walk with a friend or neighbor, it's companionable.

#### Plan Or No Plan?

For many years we said that a structured exercise plan was the only way to benefit your heart. Some studies published a few years ago proved us wrong. The results clearly showed that simply becoming more active as you went about your day conferred similar benefits on aerobic fitness, body composition and heart health as a structured workout that lasted 45 to 60 minutes. Recent reports have confirmed these findings.

Collectively, these data support a wider range of choices that make it easier to fit exercise into your life. I now tell patients that the best way to go about getting fit is to combine a formal program of walking or working out at the gym with finding ways to get more physical activity each day (take the stairs, make time for walking breaks).

If you're just starting out, set realistic goals for yourself. Ten minutes a day? Twenty? That's fine. You'll soon find you've

worked your way up to half an hour a day and possibly more. And make sure you enjoy the activity you've chosen!

#### Rev Up Your Resistance Training

Weight training gives your heart a lot of bang for your exercise buck. It reduces blood pressure and counteracts the age-related loss of muscle mass and strength. As you become stronger, your heart rate and blood pressure go up less when lifting or carrying any load, so it also decreases the demands on your heart.

#### A Final Word

Whatever you choose to do to become more active—just start today.

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**Barry A. Franklin, Ph.D., F.A.H.A., is Vice Chair of the American Heart Association's Council on Nutrition, Physical Activity and Metabolism and Director of the Cardiac Rehabilitation Program and Exercise Laboratories at William Beaumont Hospital in Royal Oak, Michigan.**

#### Start! Moving

Start! is the American Heart Association's national movement that encourages individuals and employers to include walking and other healthy habits as part of their daily routine.

Visit [www.americanheart.org/start](http://www.americanheart.org/start) to learn about Start! resources and to sign up for a free tracking tool for physical activity and nutrition.



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Quaker Oatmeal contains soluble fiber that binds with cholesterol, a substance that can clog arteries and lead to heart disease. Your

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Steve, 40

I wanted to lower my cholesterol so I took the Smart Heart Challenge. For 30 days I ate right and exercised. Quaker Oatmeal helped lower my cholesterol. It's a heart healthy choice.

## *Try it for yourself.*

For more information on the Quaker Smart Heart Challenge, call 1-800-770-4091 or visit [www.quakeroatmeal.com](http://www.quakeroatmeal.com)



\*Diet low in saturated fat and cholesterol. Per serving, Quaker Old Fashioned provides 2g of soluble fiber; Quaker Instant and Quaker Oatmeal To Go bars each provide 1g.

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should be this good





## Keep It Under Control

By Daniel W. Jones, M.D.

**High blood pressure makes your heart work harder than it should as it pumps oxygen-rich blood through your arteries to nourish every cell in your body. Silently and stealthily, it puts a strain on both your heart and blood vessels. High blood pressure, also called hypertension, is the leading cause of heart disease and stroke. In the presence of other risk factors such as smoking, high cholesterol, obesity or diabetes, it becomes even more dangerous.**

### Pencil It In

To control this silent killer, have your blood pressure checked regularly. The optimal reading for heart health is 120/80 mmHg or lower. If that's where you are, you can probably prevent high blood pressure from developing in the future if you maintain a healthy weight, remain physically active, eat well and watch the amount of salt in your diet.

### Take Control

If your blood pressure is higher than it should be, the same lifestyle measures that prevent high blood pressure can also help manage it. Work with your doctor to develop a suitable exercise program and an appropriate eating plan.

In addition, stop smoking, as this substantially raises your risk. If you've

tried to quit and can't, ask your doctor about medications that may make it easier to avoid the temptation to light up. Also, keep an eye on the amount of alcohol you drink. Although there's evidence that moderate amounts of alcohol might help reduce the risk of heart disease, if you already have high blood pressure, drinking more than a moderate amount can raise it even more and make it difficult to control. If you choose to drink, limit your consumption to one drink each day if you're a woman, and one or at most two drinks each day if you're a man.

### Good News On The Medication Front

If you do have high blood pressure, safe, effective, inexpensive medications can help control it. The medicines we use today have fewer dangerous and annoying side effects than did some of those we used in the past. More good news: Taking medications that control high blood pressure dramatically lowers the risk for having a heart attack or stroke.

### Cut Back On Salt

For years, scientists disagreed about whether consuming less salt helps to reduce high blood pressure. Results from recent studies have shown that it definitely does in some people.

Now researchers have started asking if salt restriction benefits everyone or only those who are sensitive to salt's effects.

## Don't Be Blindsided By High Blood Pressure

We don't have any solid answers yet, but we're getting closer. We do know that most people consume much more salt than they need and cutting back would likely help to reduce the terrible toll that heart disease takes.

### A Final Word

We know more today about controlling high blood pressure than we did even 10 years ago. Work with your doctor now for a healthy future.

### There's How Much Salt In That?

Guidelines recommend consuming no more than 2,300 mg of sodium a day (1,500 mg a day if you have high blood pressure, are middle-aged or older or are African-American), but you'll get more than you bargained for if you eat:

A cup of canned pasta with meatballs in tomato sauce	1,053 mg
A fast food fish sandwich	1,120 mg
Three potato pancakes	1,743 mg
One fast food smoked ham and Swiss sandwich	2,350 mg

**Daniel W. Jones, M.D.**, President of the American Heart Association, is Vice Chancellor for Health Affairs and Dean of the School of Medicine at the University of Mississippi Medical Center in Jackson.

Get the facts on high blood pressure from the American Heart Association—visit [www.HeartHealth.com](http://www.HeartHealth.com)



Courtesy of iStockphoto.com

## Caring For The Caregiver

By Barry J. Jacobs, Psy.D.

**Unlike in a progressively slow illness such as dementia, there's no time to become accustomed to the role of caregiver when someone close to you has a heart attack or stroke. If this kind of an emergency occurs, you set aside other responsibilities and pitch in to help. When the immediate crisis is over, however, you face a period of adjustment where you must find a balance between playing the role of caregiver and getting back to the rest of your life.**

### All Alone

Many caregivers willingly provide care and find that it can be gratifying, but they often feel isolated and unappreciated. Although they generally do the best they can, they may develop ambivalent feelings about their role and resent it. They find themselves in a state of emotional conflict that makes caregiving even more difficult. Here are some tips to help you cope.

### Accept help

Caregivers should realize that caregiving is a marathon, not a sprint. Marathon runners know they'll face uphills and downhills and understand that the better they can pace themselves, the more likely they'll finish the race. They never run past the

water station at Mile Five and say, "No, thanks, I don't need any water."

Caregivers, too, must take the long-term view and permit themselves to use every resource available. Unfortunately, many have a hard time allowing themselves to accept help. They put themselves into the position where they're holding on for dear life. The caregivers who reach out to others are the ones who manage the race better over time.

### Plan ahead

Caregivers and their families need to reassess their plan periodically. Have a family meeting every few months to talk about what's happening. Take into account the changing needs of everyone involved so that when one person begins to falter others will step up.

### Take time for yourself

With any job, particularly such a hard job as caregiving, people need to replenish themselves. If taking a couple of hours to go to a movie makes them feel better so they can go back to the job of caregiving with a lighter spirit, they can fulfill their commitment in a more effective way.

### The intimate details

When I talk to a couple about heart attack and stroke, the issue of sexual relations often comes up. Many caregivers fear that if they approach their spouse

### Heart Attacks And Stroke Suddenly Alter The Way A Family Works

sexually the physical strain will have disastrous results.

Although cardiologists have gotten better about encouraging people to resume sexual relations, some never bring up the subject. The couple, in turn, hesitates to mention the topic to the cardiologist, so they never go back to having sex again. That's a tremendous loss.

### A Final Word

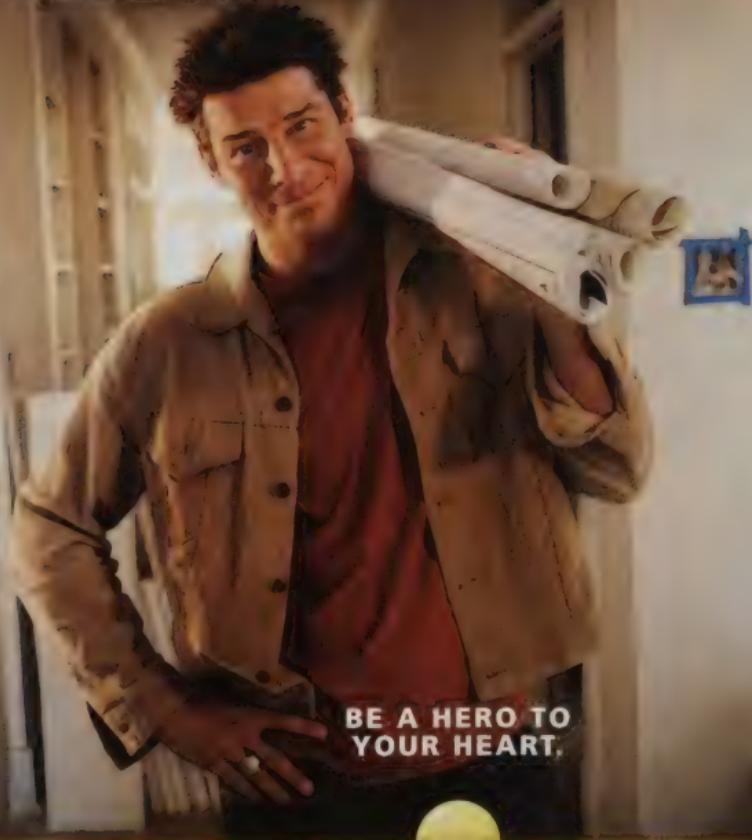
As a caregiver, be as realistic as possible, seek help as early as possible and use every resource available to make your life easier.

**Barry J. Jacobs, Psy.D.**, American Heart Association national spokesperson on family caregiving, is Director of Behavioral Sciences for the Crozer-Keystone Family Medicine Residency in Springfield, Pennsylvania, and author of the *Emotional Survival Guide for Caregivers*.

### Heart Of Caregiving

You may not feel prepared to take on the responsibility of caring for a spouse or parent who has had a heart attack or stroke. The American Heart Association's award-winning Caregiver site can help. It provides information, a free monthly e-newsletter, links to resources and much more.

Log on to [www.americanheart.org/caregivers](http://www.americanheart.org/caregivers)



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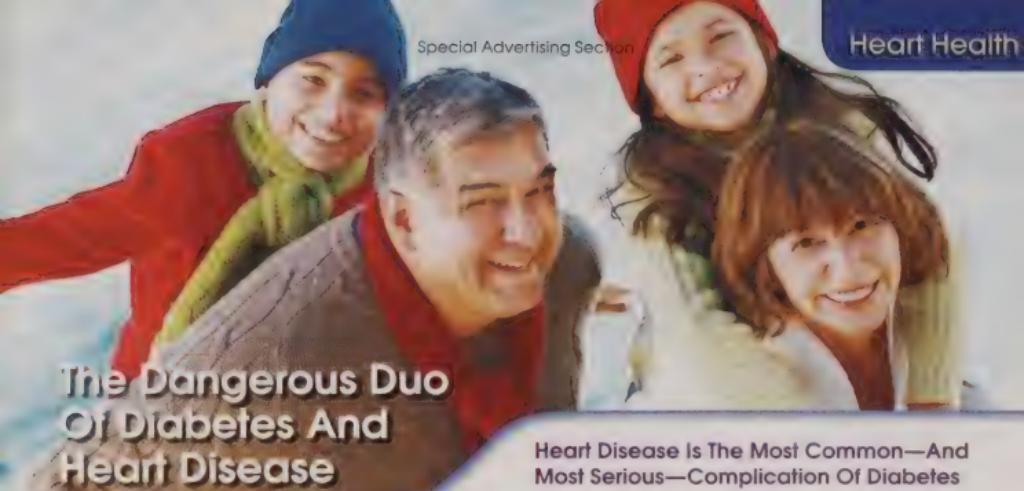
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## The Dangerous Duo Of Diabetes And Heart Disease

By Robert H. Eckel, M.D.

**In the past, dealing with diabetes generally meant controlling blood sugar. Today it also means keeping an eye on what's happening to your heart and blood vessels.**

In addition to such commonsense measures as regular physical activity, a healthy weight and an appropriate diet, your doctor will advise you to control cholesterol and triglycerides, keep an eagle eye on your blood pressure and maintain your blood sugar level at your target range.

These time-tested methods certainly work, but as researchers learn more about the link between diabetes and heart disease, we're using additional measures to keep your cardiovascular system in good working order.

### Does Your Blood Contain Inflammatory Markers?

Short-term inflammation, the response to injury or infection, protects the body by mounting an immune-system attack against invading bacteria and viruses. Chronic inflammation is a different story. This kind of low-grade tissue inflammation, related to obesity,

is associated with insulin resistance, a condition in which cells don't respond to insulin normally. Insulin resistance contributes to the development of Type 2 diabetes.

We believe that chronic inflammation may link obesity, insulin resistance and diabetes to heart disease. We're currently uncertain about the exact mechanisms, but we do know that a blood marker for chronic inflammation called C-reactive protein, or CRP, is related to an increased risk of heart attack.

### Beyond Daily Glucose Levels

As hemoglobin in red blood cells moves through the bloodstream, it picks up a sticky glucose coating. A blood test called A1C measures the amount of glucose coating red blood cells have picked up over the past two or three months (the average life of a red blood cell). High A1C levels are associated with narrowing of the arteries and likely reflect the blood vessel damage that results from the excessive glucose that sticks to blood vessel proteins.

### Damage Control

As with the rest of life, basics count. If you have diabetes, it's important to maintain a healthy weight, remain

**Heart Disease Is The Most Common—And Most Serious—Complication Of Diabetes**

physically active and eat a high-quality diet rich in fruits, vegetables, fat-free and low-fat dairy, whole-grain, high-fiber foods and two servings of fish each week. If you're taking insulin, talk to your doctor about the importance of carbohydrate counting in determining your insulin dosage.

It's essential to control your blood pressure. Aim for at least 130/85 mmHg, or lower if your doctor advises it. Keep your A1C level less than 7 percent, and your low-density cholesterol (LDL) under 100 mg/dL. Ask your doctor about desirable levels for high-density cholesterol (HDL) and triglycerides. These measures relate to control of diabetes and cardiac risk.

### A Final Word

The evidence is sufficient that better glucose control is related to fewer cardiovascular complications, so work with your doctor to manage diabetes successfully today and for the long run.

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**Robert H. Eckel**, M.D., is a Past President of the American Heart Association and a Professor of Medicine at the University of Colorado Denver.



## Eating With Your Heart In Mind

By Linda Van Horn, Ph.D., R.D.

**When it comes to recommending what to eat to prevent heart disease, the emphasis has shifted away from what you shouldn't eat to what you should. Start by eating whole-grain, high-fiber foods and fruits and vegetables every day. They contribute nutrients and phytochemicals that often aren't available anywhere else. Include nonfat milk or other low-fat and fat-free dairy products, fish, vegetable oils and legumes like beans to provide protein and healthy fatty acids. If you deny your body the benefits of these foods, you're automatically disabling one of your strongest weapons against illness.**

### Back To Basics

Some people like to know exactly how many servings from each food group they should consume each day. Others find that approach difficult to translate from government guidelines to plate. If you belong to the latter group, you might find it easier to follow the 80-20 rule.

People often admit that they grab what-

ever is available when they're hungry. When they say that, they generally mean a doughnut, ice cream or the like. You can quiet that seemingly irresistible urge to eat empty-calorie foods if you make it a habit to eat meals rich in nutrient-dense, high-fiber foods instead.

Lean people who never seem to have a weight problem are generally selective about their indulgences. They routinely follow a nutrient-dense diet rather than give in to a spur-of-the-moment craving. If dark chocolate or ice cream makes life worth living, they'll savor these treats—as treats.

### Portion Inflation

These days it's easy to eat more than you should. Indeed, the challenge is to eat less than the typical serving. What was once officially considered an average serving now seems small enough to be laughable. For example, the standard bagel today has more than doubled in size and often has more than twice as many calories as one served 20 years ago.



### What You Eat—And Choose Not To Eat—Can Cut Your Risk For Heart Disease

Even if you routinely eat nutritious foods, consuming more calories than you work off will put on unwanted pounds.

### Be A Role Model

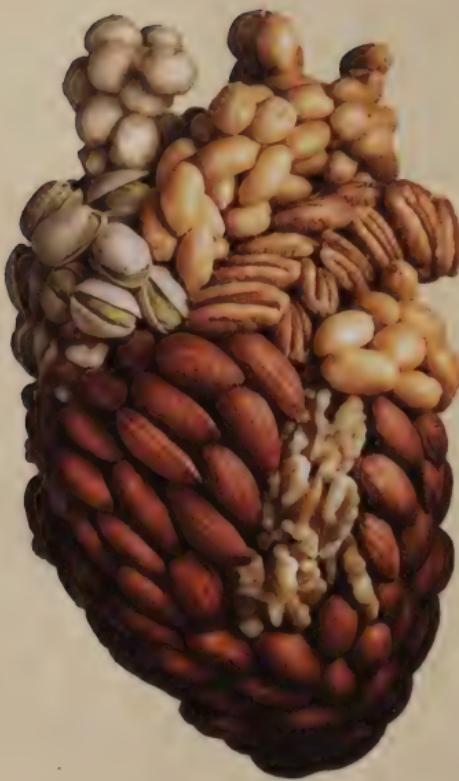
Every time you decide to cook dinner instead of buying fast food takeout, you're making a choice that has an impact on your children's health. You're teaching them what a meal should be. Conversely, if they enter adulthood overweight after years of unhealthy eating they are at a health disadvantage for life. Set them on the appropriate nutritional path early in life and they're more likely to stay there when they are older.

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**Linda Van Horn, Ph.D., R.D.,** is the Co-Chair of the American Heart Association's Nutrition Committee and Professor of Preventive Medicine and a Research Nutritionist at Northwestern University's Feinberg School of Medicine in Chicago.

This special advertising section was produced in conjunction with the American Heart Association by IIME Marketing, Liza Greene, Creative Services Director; Ray Russo, Art Director; Cindy Murphy, Production; Shanna Yehlen, Coordinator.

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# Global Business

## TOP BUSINESS TEAMS



**Moving east** Tapping a large pool of skilled workers, Lucasfilm is building a base for creating multimedia animation and digital effects in Singapore



## TOP BUSINESS TEAMS

**Fantasy League.** How Lucasfilm is turning Asia's young artists into the next generation of digital-animation pioneers

BY KATHLEEN KINGSBURY/SINGAPORE

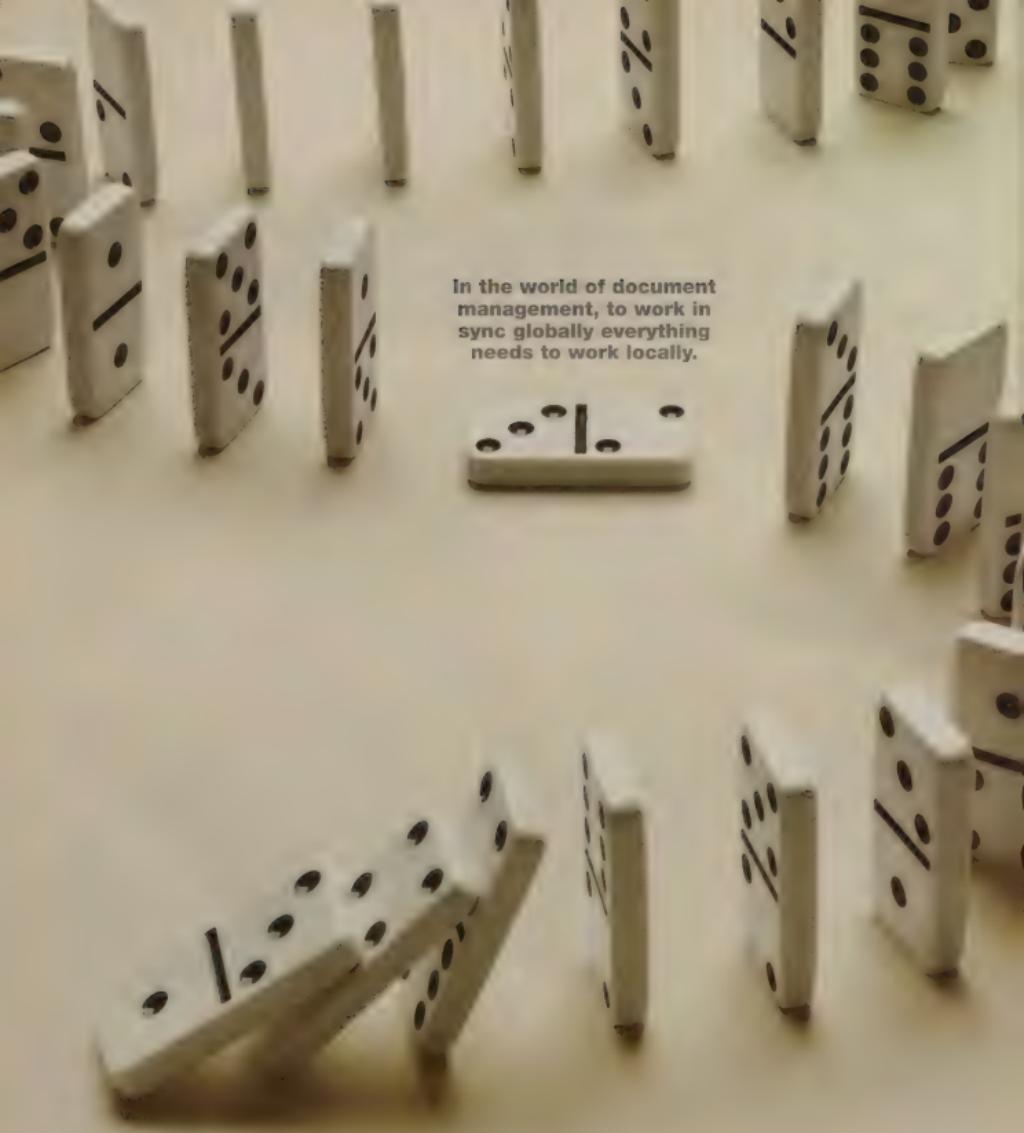
THE FORCE IS DEFINITELY WITH TRAVIS Ho. Like millions of computer-science students before him, the 19-year-old Singaporean's lifelong fantasy has been to work for Lucasfilm, the empire launched 30 years ago by George Lucas, the creator of *Star Wars*. Ho, however, did not have to

journey to a galaxy far, far away; Lucasfilm came looking for him.

Eighteen months ago, the digital-art powerhouse launched its first overseas studio in Singapore. The 170 employees come from 33 nations, and together they make sure that Luke Skywalker's animated cloak swings naturally in the TV series *Clone Wars* and that Jackie Chan

'We've always concentrated on making sure our characters have global appeal.'

—CHRISTIAN KUBSCH, MANAGING DIRECTOR OF LUCASFILM'S SINGAPORE STUDIO



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opers and animators in Singapore were hired less for their résumés than for their artistic eye. Students like Ho at Asian universities are its top potential recruits. "Our experiment is to take the most talented, passionate artists we can find and give them the necessary technical know-how," says Gail Currey, vice president and general manager of Lucasfilm Animation. The company's goal is to turn Singapore into a base for a new style of animation that combines East and West and could serve as a template for other U.S. studios expanding abroad.

make a living in digital art and gaming. "Having Lucasfilm here really legitimizes the field as a career choice for Asians," Ho says. Not all of Lucasfilm's talent in Singapore is homegrown. Canadian Kalene Dunsmoor, 27, was designing motorcycle decals in Toronto when she sent her portfolio on a whim to a Lucasfilm recruiter. Now she works in Singapore, collaborating with Lucas' iconic special-effects shop Industrial Light & Magic to add computer generated imagery to films including the *Harry Potter* and *Indiana Jones* series. "They were willing to take a chance even though

Chau adds, is "the new world order in entertainment."

It's also, of course, a cost-effective strategy for Hollywood. As paychecks for actors get higher every year, studios are putting more effort into developing films like *300*, which proved that gorgeous digital effects can draw box office numbers as big as any movie star. "It's not just the actors but also elaborate sets, huge [production] crews and worldwide marketing campaigns," says Vivek Cuoto, executive director of Hong Kong-based consultancy Media Partners Asia.



**Role models** Figurines and miniature Star Wars TIE fighters inspire the Lucasfilm developers who translate the studio's films into video games

Lucasfilm is the first major production studio to set up shop in Asia, but competitors are right behind it. For years Hollywood has cut costs by outsourcing post-production—the editing, sound mixing and special effects that turn raw film into a blockbuster movie—to overseas firms. More than 90% of the animation for American films and television shows is processed in Asia, mainly in Japan and South Korea. Now, however, the \$100 billion animation industry is rushing to tap the deep pools of young, well-trained artists in countries such as Singapore, China, India, South Korea and the Philippines.

That young Asian talent forms the core of Lucasfilm's Singapore team. Ian Pang, 29 and Singaporean, studied Japanese thinking he would one day have to move to Japan to design video games. "I thought I was going to have to pack my bags; Singapore had no games industry," Pang says. Instead, he now produces the latest *Star Wars* handheld game from Lucasfilm's 40,000 sq. ft. (3,700 sq m) office space near Singapore's Changi Airport. Ho, the computer-science student, says he struggled to convince his parents that he could



I didn't have conventional experience," Dunsmoor says. "I was willing to travel far from home for that."

Lucasfilm didn't open its office in Singapore just to fulfill the dreams of a few dozen lucky young sci-fi fans. The company's desire to develop these workers into cross-disciplinary, creative thinkers will be crucial to its efforts to turn every Lucasfilm project into a multiplatform, multimedia event. Since arriving at Lucasfilm, both Pang and Dunsmoor have gotten intensive training in classical art, and their more experienced colleagues have helped them sharpen their technical knowledge. Those skills can be applied to any medium Lucasfilm works in, from feature films to TV animation to video games. "We keep talent by letting them work on all our projects, from games to movies to TV. Nobody else in this business gets to do that," says Micheline Chau, Lucasfilm's president and coo. Being able to create content across several disciplines,

Animation is even cheaper when it's produced in Asia, but Lucasfilm executives deny that cost cutting brought them to the region. Still, the move has allowed them to experiment with new ideas—including its first animated TV show—and take chances on young talent without as much financial risk. The Singapore studio's less experienced artists demand lower salaries than their California counterparts, and Lucas film doesn't have to navigate U.S. immigration laws to hire them. And by making use of the 16-hr. time difference between Singapore and San Francisco, Lucasfilm has essentially doubled its productivity.

Lucasfilm's biggest competitor in animation, Disney, has so far limited its creative forays in Asia to teaming up with local companies, using a very different formula with some early success. In June, Disney released *The Secret of the Magic Gourd*, its first Mandarin-language film made for mainland China. But the movie was produced entirely by Hong Kong-based





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Centro Digital Pictures. Under Disney's watchful guidance, Centro adapted a classic Chinese bedtime tale, shooting and editing it into a 90-min. live-action feature. Disney then directed the film's marketing and distribution. *The Magic Gourd* became China's top grossing children's film ever, generating \$2 million in its first two weeks, says John Chu, Centro's founder, who oversaw the production. "It was a matter of finding a story that matched Disney's values but also resonated with every Chinese youngster."

Disney announced a similar alliance

brand in neighboring countries like China and India, two of its fastest-growing marketplaces. The Singapore studio will also spearhead Lucasfilm's first animated feature film this year, and its employees will soon make up at least one-third of Lucasfilm's staff.

Asia's fast-growing economies welcome the investment and are putting their resources into nurturing the digital-animation industry. Singapore hopes that by 2018, digital media will generate \$10 billion a year, or about 5% of last year's GDP. India's animation sector has grown 50% over

the patronage of leader Kim Jong Il, a movie buff, animation is one of the rare sectors in which North Korea is following the global trend. Animation houses from North America, Europe and Asia have all subcontracted work there. The state-owned SEK Studio last year paired up with South Korean animators to produce *Empress Chung*, a \$6.5 million animated feature film based on a Korean Cinderella story.

The bane of any creative industry in Asia—intellectual property protection—remains the most pressing concern for animation. Chu, who has worked in ani-



**Cubicle culture** Like their mentors in San Francisco, Lucasfilm's Singapore staffers adorn their offices with Star Wars memorabilia

last June with India's Yash Raj Films, one of Bollywood's premier studios. The two companies will produce a series of computer-animated films in Hindi using nearly all local talent. Their first co-production, *Roadside Romeo*, is set for release later this year. "We believe that China, India and Russia are the main strategic markets from which our growth will come in the future," says Jo Yan, senior vice president of sales, co-productions and acquisitions for Walt Disney Studios Motion Pictures Asia Pacific. "But at this point we're not arrogant enough to think that we know everything about these markets, so we believe working with key partners is the way to go."

Lucasfilm, on the other hand, believes that its team in Singapore will be an integral part of every film or video game it produces for every market—not just in Asia. "We've always concentrated on making sure our characters have global appeal," says Christian Kubsch, managing director of the Singapore studio. In fact, the company has made Singapore a key part of its strategy. Company execs see it as a launching point for building the

past two years and is expected to attract \$950 million in outsourcing contracts with Hollywood studios by next year. The number of animation departments in Chinese universities has quadrupled, to more than 400, over the past five years, and animation supports a nearly \$2 billion industry. Thailand has sold popular television cartoon series to China and South Korea and hopes to export more than \$2 billion worth of products by next year. Working with local universities to incorporate animation into curriculums, the Animation Council of the Philippines plans to have more than 25,000 digital artists by 2010.

Another, smaller player is the rogue communist state of North Korea. Under

mation in Hong Kong for more than 20 years, has given up. "There's really nothing that can be done," he says. "The only hope is that someday our product is cheap enough that it's not affordable to counterfeit." Lucasfilm, on the other hand, chose to operate in Singapore because of the country's strict copyright laws and advanced legal system. "We feel comfortable that the infrastructure is in place to protect individual IP," says Kubsch.

For now, Lucasfilm's biggest challenge is snatching up the best talent within Singapore's burgeoning digital-arts community before rivals move in. In November, the studio launched the Jedi Masters Program, a two-year paid apprenticeship designed to attract Singaporean students like Travis Ho. Lucasfilm better move fast. Ho, who won't graduate for another two years, has already co-founded a small video-game development firm that has gotten government and foreign contracts. "It's a small operation," Ho says. "But we're doing pretty innovative stuff for beginners." It's no match for Lucasfilm yet, but who knows? The next George Lucas may be working for him in Singapore. ■

**'We keep talent by letting them work on all our projects, from games to movies to TV. Nobody else in this business gets to do that.'**

— MICHELINE CHAU, PRESIDENT AND COO, LUCASFILM

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# Arts

COMEDY BOOKS DOWNTIME



Tough crowd  
Stand-up comics  
picketing in 1979



## HISTORY

**The First Comedy Strike.** Almost 30 years ago, comics like Jay and Dave staged a revolt. It changed everything

BY RICHARD ZOGLIN

THE STRIKE JOKES, AT LEAST, HAVE DIED down. David Letterman—back on the air with his writers after making a separate deal with the Writers Guild—has moved on to wisecracks about the *Cloverfield* monster and Fed Chairman Ben Bernanke. Jay Leno, who has returned sans scribes but is supposedly writing the monologues himself (angering the Guild, which claims he's violating strike rules by doing so), is pummeling viewers with the usual rat-a-tat of gags playing off the headlines, from the presidential primaries to funny animal news.

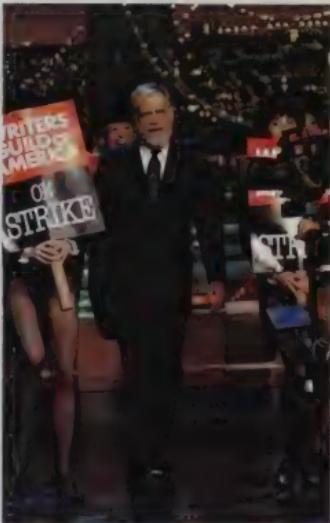
The three-month-old strike has sidelined more than 12,000 writers—writers of prime-time shows you can't live without, movies you haven't heard of yet and soap operas you're pretty sure are recycling story lines from 10 years ago. But it's the late-night hosts who have been in the most

of the counterculture generation. Like George Carlin, Richard Pryor and other pioneers of those years, the new stand-up comics were not just anti-Establishment rabble rousers; they were intimate, populist artists who got their power by convincing us that they were ordinary folks, with the same gripes and anxieties as everyone else. They joked about furnishing their tiny apartments and riding the subways and trying to get girls. The strike against the Comedy Store, the leading comedy club in Los Angeles, reinforced their real-life status as working-class crusaders. For both Leno, who ostentatiously took doughnuts to the picketing writers on the first day of the current strike, and Letterman, who more quietly assured his staff that he would pay their salaries in the weeks the show was dark, the first strike was a cautionary—and formative—experience.

The issues and adversaries were much different from today's, but the dispute was perhaps more rancorous. In the 1970s, the stucco box on Sunset Boulevard that housed the Comedy Store was a nightly practice field for up-and-coming comics who would troop onstage to hone their material, try out new jokes—and hope to get seen by the agents, managers and talent scouts who were regular clubgoers. The club's owner, Mitzi Shore—a pretty, petite brunet with a whiny, Roseanne-like voice who had inherited the Comedy Store in a divorce from comedian Sammy Shore—viewed the place not as a traditional nightclub but as a "college" of comedy where newcomers could learn their craft and grow as artists. And so she didn't feel the need to pay them anything.

The comics put up with this for years. For one thing, they felt they were getting as much out of the club as Shore was out of them. She had helped many of them by lending them money, even giving some places to stay. Plus, no one wanted to antagonize the woman who was the gatekeeper for their show biz dreams. But after Shore opened a second, larger showroom at her club, where she paid big-time headliners—but not the younger comics who also appeared there—the comedians rebelled.

A labor movement was born. The issue



wasn't today's relatively abstruse one of payments for DVDs or Internet downloads; it was simply getting paid. Tom Dreesen, a comedian and former Teamster from Chicago who became a spokesman for the comics, pleaded with Shore to give them at least a token amount. "I told Mitzi, 'You pay the waiters, you pay the waitresses, you pay the guy who cleans the toilets. Why don't you at least pay the comedians?'" says Dreesen. Many of the struggling kids who were helping her club thrive, he pointed out, couldn't even afford to buy groceries. On New Year's Eve, he had run into one of them, on a high after finishing a set. "He said, 'It was fantastic, I killed 'em.' And then he said, 'Tom, can you loan me \$5 for breakfast?' I told Mitzi that story, and she said, 'Well, he should get a goddam job.' I said, 'Mitzi, he has a job. He worked for you on New Year's Eve.'"

Leno, a gregarious and widely admired regular at the club, was one of the early firebrands. Letterman, another top club comic and strike supporter (and a fan of Leno's),



## The strike solidified the comedians' status as working-class heroes

visible, and delicate, position. Leno and Letterman are both former stand-up comics and Guild members themselves, who supported their fellow union members for weeks, refusing to do their shows until the prospect of laying off all their nonstriking staff members forced them into an uneasy accommodation to get back on the air.

Their conflicted roles in the current strike hark back to a less well remembered labor battle of nearly three decades ago. Letterman and Leno were key figures in one of the strangest and bitterest labor-management disputes in show-business history: the Comedy Store strike of 1979.

That walkout was the culmination of a decade in which stand-up became the voice

Adapted from *Comedy at the Edge* by Richard Zoglin, published this month by Bloomsbury

## 5 Other Events in the '70s That Reshaped Stand-Up Comedy



FEBRUARY 1970

### 1. George Carlin

Starts growing a beard, completing his transformation from short-haired *Ed Sullivan* comic to counterculture provocateur



DECEMBER 1972

### 2. Catch a Rising Star

In Manhattan, a new club opens, becomes a mecca for stand-ups like Freddie Prinze and supercharges the comedy-club boom



thought he was a little out of control. "Jay, bless his heart, couldn't sit still," Letterman recalls of one early mass meeting. "He was behaving like a hyperactive child: jumping up and down, being funny and distracting, to the point where everybody sort of thought, Well, maybe we shouldn't tell Jay about the next meeting."

The meetings and negotiations continued. But when Shore wouldn't budge, the comedians, in March 1979, walked off the job. Pickets appeared, with placards bearing slogans like NO MONEY NO FUNNY and THE YUK STOPS HERE. All but a few of the regulars refused to work. Even Letterman—though he felt indebted to Shore, who had taken him under his wing when he arrived from Indiana with his wife in 1975, making him an MC—joined the picket line after he finished a stint as guest host on the *Tonight Show*. "This was the umbilical cord for a lot of guys, myself included," says Letterman. "Money wasn't necessarily an issue for me, because I had a couple of bucks in the bank."

But for these other guys, this was it. This was sustenance."

When she saw Letterman picketing, Shore was crushed. "I watched him from the bay window here," she would recall years later, frail and shaking from a nervous disorder and sitting in the empty showroom at the Comedy Store. "I was taken aback. I was crying. Three and a half years working with him, every night. I called him that night at his apartment. I was totally choked up. And he said, 'Those comedians are my friends. And they'll be my friends for the rest of my life.' I said, 'I'm sorry to hear that, David.'" Says Argus Hamilton, one of the comics who was closest to Mitzi: "It broke her heart."

The poverty-stricken comics were far less prepared for a long walkout than the relatively well-heeled writers today. Shore closed down her club, then reopened it, using the few loyalists willing to cross the picket line and some neophytes who saw an opportunity for some stage time. When

Hell, no, we won't do a show Before Letterman and Leno went back to work, Leno visited striking writers. Now they're picketing his show

she made a compromise offer to pay the comics \$25 a set only on weekends, some of them, like Garry Shandling, thought it was fair and went back to work—a blow to the comics' shaky solidarity. "I think there was a lot of good that was accomplished by that strike," says Shandling. "I certainly didn't cross the picket line just to work. But I thought it could have been resolved. It did not need to be dragged out."

Tensions between the strikers and the nonstrikers grew. One night, the bad blood got out of hand as one of the antistrike comics tried to drive a car through the picket line, brushing some of the comics and knocking Leno to the pavement with a loud thud. Dreesen ran over to him, panicked that he had been seriously hurt. Leno gave Dreesen a wink; he was only feigning an injury and had thumped the car with his hand. But he got hauled off to the hospital in an ambulance anyway, and the incident seemed to sober up both sides.

"Mitzi called me 10 minutes later and said, 'Let's settle this thing right now,'" says Dreesen. On May 4, a settlement was reached to pay the comics \$25 per set on both weekends and weekdays. After a six week walkout, the comedians went back to work, claiming victory.

The strike's impact was far-reaching. Comedy clubs in New York City began paying their comics as well. Clubs that were springing up around the country were then forced to boost their fees too, to lure more top comics out on the road—launching the comedy club boom of the 1980s. All of which was part of laying the groundwork for a culture in which comedians turned TV hosts help set the national agenda and have would-be Presidents as guests. Letterman and Leno may look more like management than labor these days—more Mitzi Shore than strikers. But they haven't forgotten the old grievances. They know all the lines. ■

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MAY 1974

**3. Richard Pryor**  
Releases *That Nigga's Crazy*, his breakthrough album, the first to bring his edgy racial comedy to a crossover audience



OCTOBER 1977

**4. Steve Martin**  
Introduces his "wild and crazy guy" character on *Saturday Night Live*, helping turn him into stand-up's biggest rock star



APRIL 1979

**5. Andy Kaufman**  
His gig at Carnegie Hall is the pinnacle of his postmodern anticomedie comedy. Takes the audience out for milk and cookies afterward



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## BOOKS

**The Lincoln Compulsion.** A shelf of new books shows why Lincoln remains our most addictive President

BY LEV GROSSMAN

WHEN BENNET CERF, CO-FOUNDER OF Random House, was asked to describe the ideal best seller, he supposedly suggested the title *Lincoln's Doctor's Dog*. Pitches itself, doesn't it? There have been more books about Abraham Lincoln than any other American; this month brings us William Lee Miller's *President Lincoln* (Knopf; 497 pages), Allen C. Guelzo's *Lincoln and Douglas* (Simon & Schuster; 384 pages) and *Did Lincoln Own Slaves?* (Pantheon; 311 pages) by Gerald J. Prokopowicz, among others. That Lincoln is a suitable subject for scholarly work nobody would deny, but the volume of it suggests something more: an obsession, an addiction, a Lincoln compulsion.

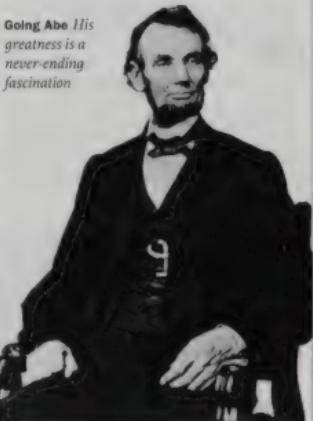
Miller's angle—and at this point, you really need an angle—is to restrict himself to Lincoln's time in office. The premise proves oddly rich and unclaustrrophobic. If nothing else, *President Lincoln* is germaine to the current debate over the value of a presidential candidate's experience. When Lincoln was inaugurated, he had served one term as a Representative from Illinois; he had also run for the Senate and lost, twice. The outgoing President Buchanan took Lincoln aside for some advice: The right hand well at the White House, he said, was way better than the left hand well. The next day, Lincoln's first full day in office, he opened a letter from the commander of Fort Sumter stating that the fort was out of supplies and could Lincoln please send 20,000 men?

Miller is fascinated by the sustained brilliance with which Lincoln navigated the ensuing national convulsion, attempting to reconcile the obstreperous demands of political and military expediency, constitutional writ and, above all, his own galloping moral intelligence, though in places Miller's reverence for his subject borders on personal ad territory (and he was tall! And funny!). A more caustic and fallible Lincoln appears in *Lincoln and Douglas*, which is surprisingly rip-roaring for a book about a series of debates in an Illinois Senate

campaign. Lincoln makes fun of Stephen Douglas' height (5 ft. 4 in., or 1.63 m) and panders to his racist constituency. But he was always learning—you can watch him evolve before your eyes into the great man he had yet to become.

*Did Lincoln Own Slaves?* gamely and even-handedly answers the titular question—no—and many, many others (readers are supplied with Lincoln's worst photograph and least-funny joke), but it doesn't shed much light on the question of the Lincoln compulsion. For that you might turn to *This Republic of Suffering* (Knopf; 346 pages), Harvard president Drew Gilpin Faust's new wrenching study of how the mass deaths of the Civil War changed America. At the time, Lincoln's death was fused with Jesus' in the popular imagination—people needed Lincoln to be more than human in order to give meaning to the slaughter over which he presided. We still seem to need that, even while we know it's not true. Maybe it's that gap, between Lincoln's mortal and immortal natures, that we're trying to fill with all these words. ■

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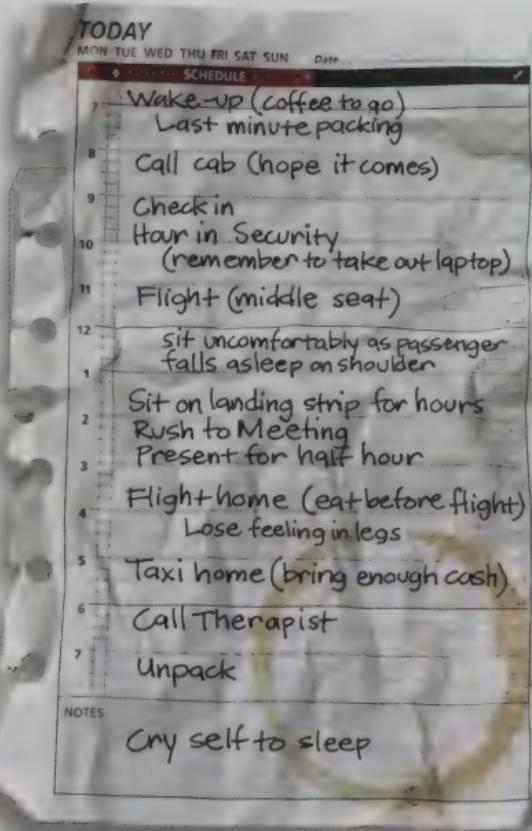
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# Downtime



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### DVDs

#### **Slings & Arrows: The Complete Collection** Seven-DVD set; available Feb. 5

This three-season Canadian satire set at a Shakespeare festival wears the masks of comedy and tragedy equally well. Co-written by and co-starring Mark McKinney (*Kids in the Hall*), *Slings* sends up the compromises needed to keep art alive in a short-attention-span era. Sophisticated and cutting yet sincere, it gives the Bard the Larry Sanders treatment. **A**



#### **The Apartment** Directed by Billy Wilder; written by Wilder and I.A.L. Diamond; available Feb. 5

A white-collar nebbish (Jack Lemmon) climbs the corporate ladder by lending out his flat to his philandering bosses. One of the few comedies to win the Best Picture Oscar, Wilder's 1960 take on sexual ethics retains its acerbic tang and, with Shirley MacLaine as Lemmon's would-be girlfriend, its romantic brio. **A**



#### **Across the Universe** Directed by Julie Taymor; rated PG-13; available Feb. 5

Dozens of Beatles songs ornament this frenetic social history of America in the 1960s. The numbers have nothing to do with the plot, which makes it all the more fun to see Taymor shoehorn, say, *Let It Be* into the Detroit race riots. The DVD allows you to skip the goofy narrative and go straight to the hallucinogenic music videos. **B**



#### **Jane Austen Book Club** Directed and written by Robin Swicord; rated PG-13; available Feb. 5

"All Jane Austen all the time!" says Kathy Baker. "It's the perfect antidote." For what? Five women, each with a hole in her soul, groan and grow in this reductive chick flick with beguiling stars (Maria Bello, Emily Blunt, Amy Brenneman). Maybe it's a gender thing. The guy version would be *The Grand Theft Auto Sandbox Club*. **C**



### BOOK

#### **Beautiful Children** By Charles Bock; published by Random House; out now

Boy, 12, is missing in Las Vegas. Parents—an ex-minor leaguer and an ex-showgirl—are shattered. Numerous runaways, strippers, loners and lowlifes do drugs and have sex. This novel, a widely praised debut, represents a massive effort to render Las Vegas in words, but all those Dumpster loads of seedy detail overwhelm the milk-carton plot, and it's weird how fast all that underage sex and drugs numb you. Or is that the point? **C**



### VIRAL MUSIC

## The Song That Makes Men Cry

REAL MEN CRY. NOT AT movies or weddings but at important stuff: a shocking playoff upset, the cruelty of a blind referee, a perfectly executed pick-and-roll. This is the secret behind the NBA's "Where Amazing Happens" ad campaign, which sets still frames of basketball stars to a slowly building piano piece called **EVERYDAY** by Carly Comando. If fans are fish and the NBA is a barrel, *Everyday* is the bullet. The song was originally composed as the sound track for a viral video in which photographer Noah Kalina cut together pictures of himself taken in an identical pose over several years. Removed from images, the 6-min. track (available at iTunes) is a George Winston knockoff—New Age piano music perfect for contemplating autumn's arrival, though not too deeply. But with images, *Everyday* becomes musical tofu, taking on the flavor of whatever emotions are expressed by the visuals. Its fuliginous keystrokes, slowly building in intensity without getting intense enough to be distracting, are made for montage. Play it behind whatever gets your tears going—puppies, babies, power forwards—and let the waterworks begin.

—BY JOSH TYRANGIEL

# The Stupid Bowl

Our reporter taps into the weird world of football side bets and devises one of his own

BY JOEL STEIN

LIKE MOST PEOPLE WHO GAMBLE, I AM VERY BAD at it. But I continue to do it, owing to a delusion that I am awesome at everything and therefore can't possibly lose. Gambling for men isn't about winning money but about boosting our self-esteem by proving that we're always right. Women's self-esteem comes from healthier places, like starving themselves.

So there's no way I'm not going to bet on the Super Bowl, the biggest betting event of the year, despite the fact that I hate football and know nothing about it. Luckily, the thoughtful hosts who run gambling establishments don't want anyone to feel left out, so they invented the "proposition bet," which creates wagers based on hundreds of superfluous details, such as who will win the opening coin toss, whether the first missed field goal goes left or right or if the jersey number of the last person to score is odd or even. Somewhere, someone is placing a bet on whether Jessica Simpson will show up at the game without realizing her boyfriend isn't in it.

But all prop bets are based on either luck or sports knowledge. I needed a Super Bowl bet based on my nonfootball expertise, something that would make me feel smart on a day I feel dumb. So I called odds-maker Art Manteris to see if we could come up with a bet that he would post on all 19 sports books he runs for Station Casinos. Manteris, author of *Super Bookie*, was responsible for making proposition bets a huge business when, in 1985, he offered 20-to-1 odds at Caesars Palace that an incredibly fat defensive lineman named William (the Refrigerator) Perry would score a Super Bowl touchdown. Unfortunately for Manteris, there was a rare outpouring of public affection for the obese, and when the Fridge scored, the casino lost six figures. "But it got media attention," says Manteris. "From that moment on, Super Bowl props became a big deal." Unfortunately for Manteris, guys who run casinos are less interested in media attention than in losing six figures on an incredibly stupid bet.

Waiting for Manteris at the Italian restaurant at Vegas' Red Rock resort, I was bummed I couldn't find someone to bet me what he would look like. Because I would have made a lot of money. He had a pinstriped suit, a faint beard, a faint paunch and a not-so-faint gold chain with an Eastern Orthodox cross, a Greek evil eye and a Hindu om. I was not sure I trusted an oddsmaker who wasn't willing to set a line on who would triumph at the apocalypse.



Though Manteris now shuns silly prop bets, it didn't take long to get a gambler like him excited about mine. Unfortunately, most of my ideas were illegal, since Vegas has been ruined by lots of laws and regulations over the past few years, none of which seem to have to do with restaurant prices. The law states that you can wager only on statistically verifiable sports events, thus eliminating my bet on whether the first cheerleader shown on television would be prettier than Tom Brady. My second plan, however, seemed promising. While I don't know anything about football, I do, as a few with pushy parents, know an awful lot about the importance of a good college education. So I asked Manteris to post this proposition bet: Will the first person to score a touchdown have attended one of the Top 100 schools in the 2008 U.S. News & World Report rankings? Manteris thought for a moment. "I don't want to say your bet is stupid," he said. "But it is unique."

Which is precisely the point of prop bets. Like any advanced form of capitalism, they twist something simple (like who will do better in the game) into a way to express yourself. My bet allowed me to self-express what a snotty jerk I am.

When I saw my bet go up on the giant screens at the Red Rock casino, I understood the power of creating a new way for people to gamble. Someone might become interested in my bet and lose a car payment or, better yet, their child's college education. I got to control how people thought about their money. I now understand how Jim Cramer lost his mind.

But looking at the board, it seemed a little weird that Manteris' team of statisticians set the odds at exactly even. I was about to bet \$100 that the first touchdown scorer had gone to a good school when my old Stanford roommate, Ben Wu, decided to run the numbers. According to Wu and perhaps this Excel document he sent me that I can't follow, there's only a 46.1% chance that the first touchdown will be scored by someone who went to a Top 100 school. Which did not stop me from placing my bet. Because real gambling isn't about the odds; it's about the personal narrative you want to project—which, for me, is my need to root for the over-educated elite in everything. Except, of course, when Michael Kinsley's columns beat mine on the TIME.com "most e-mailed" list. Don't make me write about the Oscars too, Mike.

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